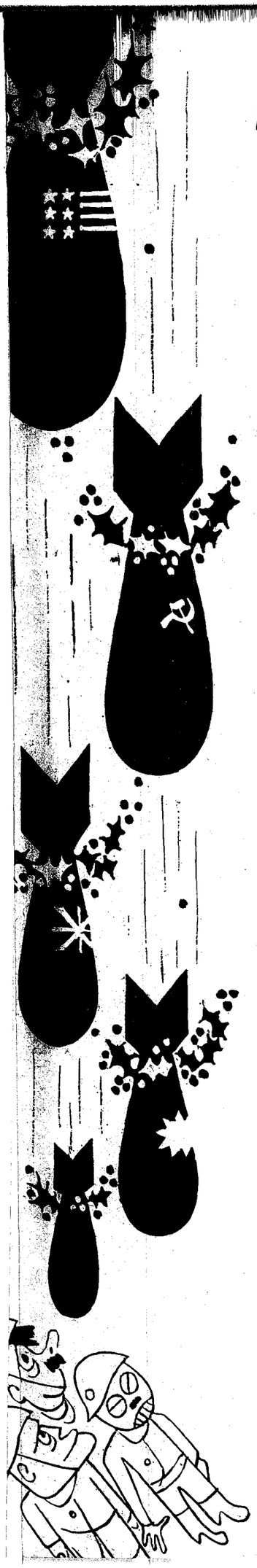

Balance Sheet of Axis Air Raids By Milton D. Ellis

NEW MASSES

DECEMBER 30, 1941 FIFTEEN CENTS

HOW FAST CAN WE BUILD TANKS?

Detroit tackles the crucial problem of conversion.
By A. B. Magil

WHAT MAKES HITLER RUN

An estimate of the Nazi retreat by Colonel T.

THE JOURNEY OF VAN WYCK BROOKS

By Dorothy Brewster

VANDALS AT TOLSTOY'S SHRINE

A firsthand account from Moscow by John Gibbons

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First Date for the New Year

FRIDAY, JAN. 9th

The turn of the calendar is a time to take stock, to lay plans for the future. This is particularly true for 1942 when the nation is rolling up its sleeves and going after the common enemy. This year, the editors of New Masses don't want to keep their plans to themselves. We are, after all, a magazine that belongs to its entire readership. And in times like these, people naturally draw closer to one another than ever before. Therefore, we wish to invite you to

AN OPEN EDITORIAL BOARD MEETING OF NEW MASSES

or in other words, a get-together of readers, contributors, editors AT WEBSTER HALL, IN NEW YORK ON FRIDAY EVENING, JANUARY 9th AT 8 SHARP—ADMISSION FREE.

The idea is as simple as we think it's novel. We want our readers and their friends to sit in on a typical meeting of the editors. We want our readers and friends to take a hand in the discussion of the magazine in all its phases. Apart from all else it will be an interesting evening. Many of New Masses' artists and writers will participate. They have something to say on the coming year's work and you will want to hear them say it. Bring a friend along who hasn't been reading the magazine regularly, or at all. MAKE IT A DATE TO MEET WITH ALL THE PEOPLE WHO MAKE NEW MASSES.

THE EDITORS

Between Ourselves

Two of NM's editors, Bruce Minton and Joseph Starobin, will be on the faculty of the New York Workers School during the coming semester. Starobin will teach a course on world politics on Wednesdays at 7 PM. Minton's course, on American policy in the last decade, will be taught on Mondays at 7 PM. Registration began at the school, 35 East 12th St., on December 22 and will continue through January 12, when the term begins.

Who's Who

COLONEL T. is the pseudonym of a military expert. . . . Claude Cockburn was formerly editor of the internationally known newsletter *The Week* and Washington correspondent for the London *Times*. . . . Milton D. Ellis is a West Coast architect who has been specializing in problems of civilian defense. . . . Elise Moorer is a free lance writer. . . . Dorothy Brewster is a professor of English at Columbia University. . . . Harry F. Ward has taught at Union Theological Seminary and is the author of many books. . . . David Cosgrove's reviews have appeared frequently in NM. . . . Bruce Minton is NM's Washington editor.

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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NEW MASSES
VOLUME XLI DECEMBER 30 NUMBER 13

AUTOS INTO TANKS

Conversion of the motor industry is a key to winning the battle of production. A. B. Magil discusses the manifold problems of attaining maximum war output on the Detroit assembly lines.

I WONDER what the men on the assembly lines in Detroit were thinking on that Monday, December 8, the day after the Japanese attack on the United States. If I know those fellows—and I have met lots of them—there was a tough glint in their eyes that morning and they felt what millions of other Americans felt: hatred of the aggressors and grim determination to give all for victory.

The automobile industry is in the front lines of America's war against the Axis powers. On the more than 500,000 workers who man its machines, and on the engineers, technicians, corporation owners and administrative personnel who direct its operations rests a large part of the responsibility of America's fight for survival and of the fight which our British, Soviet, Chinese, and other allies are waging against the deadliest foe that mankind has ever faced. Without the planes, tanks, guns, and other weapons of war that must flow in mounting numbers from the assembly lines of the auto industry this world front against Hitlerism cannot be maintained, nor can our own existence as a free nation be preserved.

How is the auto industry meeting its great test? On a recent trip to Detroit I tried to find out. That was before the Japanese attack, and undoubtedly the picture is now changing in important respects. But some of the information I gathered from talks with company representatives, union officials, and rank and file workers may help illuminate the war production problem not only in the auto plants, but in American industry as a whole. For the problem of shifting the whole emphasis of our production effort, of rapidly changing a situation in which only about fifteen percent of our total production is for the defense of the nation instead of the required fifty or sixty percent, is essentially one for the whole of American industry, and for the whole people.

THIS is a war of motors; Lord Beaverbrook reported that Stalin told him victory would go to the side with the greatest number of motors. No American industry has developed motor power to the same extent as the automobile industry. "The automobile industry," stated an unpublished report of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, "is the outstanding major industry capable of producing a much larger volume of defense materials. . . . The automobile industry constitutes our largest available reserve contained in any single industry of productive power for defense." (Quoted in *Business as Usual* by I. F. Stone.) If one remembers that the United States and Canada produce two or three times as many cars and trucks as the rest of the world combined, some inkling can be gathered of the enormous war potentialities of this industry. Moreover, because of the large number of cars already in operation, the manufacture of new automobiles could be completely eliminated without imposing serious hardships (assuming, of course, that all auto workers would be transferred to defense production).

Beginning December 1, the output of cars had been reduced about fifty percent by government order. With the outbreak of active warfare against the Axis, Leon Henderson, head of the Division of Civilian Supply, announced further drastic cuts. Under the new quotas the number of cars and light trucks manufactured will be less than forty percent in December and less than twenty-five percent in January of the totals in those months a year ago. The complete obliteration of passenger car output may be on the way for the duration.

Unfortunately this curtailment will not be translated into an immediate equivalent production of war supplies. The fact is that tens of thousands of auto workers are already unemployed, and the number will mount appallingly in the coming months. When I was in Detroit, James H. Wishart, research director of the United Automobile Workers-CIO, told me that, deducting those workers who can be immediately shifted to war production, net unemployment will be 150,000 by January 1, a situation that will continue substantially unchanged for six months. With the new quotas slashing output by another fifty percent or more, the number of unemployed will probably reach 300,000. Apart from the human suffering and the detrimental effect on morale that it involves, this is a shocking waste of industrial manpower at a time when the nation and its allies are desperately in need of the planes, tanks, guns, and other arms that these 300,000 workers could produce. I daresay all the defense strikes put together—most of which could have been avoided had employers been more disposed to meet the unions halfway—did not involve so great a loss in man-hours as will the disemployment of these 300,000 auto workers.

For this state of affairs the auto companies, which resisted large scale conversion of their plants and instead devoted themselves to record-breaking production-as-usual, and certain dollar-a-year men in Washington are to blame. Not till last April was a twenty percent cut in output announced—to begin nearly four months later with the 1942 models. This was later raised to 26.6 percent for the months of August, September, November, and December. It is curious, however, that from August 1 to September 20, instead of a twenty-six percent curtailment, there was actually a seventeen percent increase in auto production! Subsequently, the decline set in, and beginning with December 1, reductions of fifty percent or more were instituted. But it is ironic that all of these cuts, including the new ones, have been made not as part of a comprehensive program for utilizing the facilities of the auto industry, but because certain basic materials, such as steel, aluminum, rubber, etc., widely used in the manufacture of cars, are needed for war purposes. In other words, the automobile industry is still being approached as a civilian industry.

The difficulties could have been largely avoided had the proposals for conversion of the industry which the United Automobile Workers made over a year ago been accepted. That word "conversion" is the key to winning the battle of production in every war and potential war industry. When the rearmament program was launched in June 1940, this country had only a skeleton defense industry. Tanks are perhaps the most decisive weapon of modern mechanized combat, yet we had no tank factories, and the few tanks in existence were custom-built affairs, put together by slow handicraft methods. The plane situation was not much better, and aircraft companies insisted that planes were too complicated to be built by modern

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mass production techniques. There were two principal ways in which arms production could be speeded: by utilizing to the full existing facilities and making the required changes (including expansion, if necessary) to shift from civilian to war production; by building new factories and installing new equipment. To some extent both methods had to be employed; the question remained, however, which should be emphasized to assure the needed munitions most rapidly. Here is what the recent report entitled "Priorities and the Utilization of Existing Manufacturing Facilities," issued by the Senate's Truman committee investigating the national defense program, has to say on the subject:

"The manufacturers . . . very naturally wanted to protect the value of their plants for the future and the good will they had built up through years of effort, by continuing to produce their regular products in quantities sufficiently great to enable them to increase or at least to maintain their relative positions in industry. Consequently many were unwilling to switch their existing plants and the machinery in their plants from the manufacture of their regular products to the manufacture of defense goods. They took the position that they did not desire defense contracts, but that they would undertake on their own terms to build new plants, directly or indirectly at government expense, in which new machine tools would be installed, new help would be hired and defense goods ultimately would be produced, as an addition to, but not in place of, their regular production." This, according to the Truman report, "resulted in delaying the production of defense articles, for we were busy constructing machine tools and new plants instead of producing defense articles in the plants we already had." The committee points out that "by and large such expansions are unnecessary duplications of existing facilities." For this situation the Truman committee blames not only the industrialists, but the Army and Navy procurement divisions which were entirely agreeable to the idea of building new plants rather than converting old.

The automobile industry is a case in point. It built the Chrysler tank arsenal, it built the Ford plant for the manufacture of Pratt & Whitney airplane engines, but mention conversion, and the auto magnates changed the subject. General Motors' chairman, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., made a speech on Nov. 20, 1940, in which he insisted that "only about ten to fifteen percent of the machinery and equipment in an automobile factory can be utilized for the production of special defense material." And as recently as Sept. 24, 1941, C. E. Wilson, president of GM, told the Tolan committee investigating defense labor migration: "The machine tool equipment in our plants is specialized and only about fifteen percent of it can be used for defense. As far as I know, no one has built a single car that got in the way of defense." He also told the committee: "Personally, I don't think that curtailment is necessary."

In Detroit I talked with a representative of another large automobile company, and he tried to sell me the same idea. "The only thing to do," he insisted, "is to build new plants." But Alex Taub, chief of the conversion section of the contract distribution division of the OPM, doesn't agree. And he ought to know: for nineteen years he held various engineering positions with General Motors. And during most of that time he was in charge of the company's central office on engineering. Here is what he told the Tolan committee regarding the auto industry: "Today, with curtailment on the premises, it is freely admitted that fifty percent of the facilities can be used for defense, with a possibility in some areas of extending this to seventy percent. We have one instance of actual practice where nearer to ninety percent is used."

This outstanding engineer's opinion is shared by officials of the United Automobile Workers. George Addes, the keen, youthful secretary-treasurer of the union, told me that fully eighty or ninety percent of the industry's equipment could be used for war work. Addes pointed out that an ordinary automobile assembly plant could be converted for the manufacture of tanks. This would require a few months, while it took the Chrysler Corp. over a year to plan, build and swing into regular production its new tank arsenal—at a cost of $20,000,000 to Uncle Sam. At that the company has reason to be proud of the speed with which the building was put up, the machinery installed, and work started.

I VISITED this arsenal which stands at Van Dyke Boulevard and Eleven-Mile Road, on the outskirts of Detroit. It is a marvelous engineering job, and I felt something akin to awe in contemplating this product of human skill, ingenuity, creative drive. The arsenal is five city blocks long and two wide, and contains about 1,000 pieces of machinery. I confess my layman's eye was most intrigued by a huge automatic riveter. For years the goggle-eyed man putting heads on hot rivets with a riveting machine (and what a racket it makes) has become almost a symbol of the American worker. But at the Chrysler plant I saw a riveter, a big, viselike affair, that did the job on cold steel, flattening out either end of the rivet by tremendous pressure, and making no noise while doing it. It's less picturesque than the old way, but more efficient. I understand, though, that the whole riveting process is already obsolete as far as tanks are concerned. It has been found that when a shell hits a rivet, it has a tendency to fly out. Welding is, therefore, going to be substituted.

The Chrysler arsenal is the first American factory to build tanks by mass production methods. The assembly line (there are three of them) differs from that in automobile plants in being stationary. Instead of the line moving, it is the tank itself that is moved along as various parts are fitted to it, until it rolls off completed. Then it is given a seventy-five-mile run on the proving grounds outside the arsenal and shipped to the Army. The Chrysler tank is the M-3 medium, weighing twenty-eight tons, or more than twenty times the average automobile. It has strong fire power, being equipped with a seventy-five mm. cannon, a thirty-seven mm. cannon, and four machine guns. A few of these tanks have seen action in Libya. An improved version of this tank, the M-4, is already scheduled for production. Together, Chrysler, General Motors, and Ford are eventually expected to build about 2,000 tanks a month. Not very cheering news for Adolph.

The Chrysler arsenal is the largest single producer of tanks in the country. Which isn't saying much. Just why the Army set the arsenal's schedule at only five tanks a day when it got into production last August is a mystery. This is typical of the myopic approach to the whole problem of war production on the part of the Army and Navy procurement divisions. The Chrysler plant is turning out more than five tanks a day now, but unless there has been a change since the outbreak of official war, it is still far from peak production. When I visited the arsenal, the assembly lines were working only one shift, and there were 6,000 workers instead of the full complement of 10,000. (Even the latter number can be increased on a four-shift basis.) Those workers that I saw impressed me as a businesslike lot, going about their jobs without any waste motion. Most of them wear union buttons in their caps or dungarees—it's a union message they are sending to Hitler and Hirohito through the steel dinosaurs that will hunt down the jungle beasts of fascism. Yes, it's a grand job, the Chrysler arsenal—but the tanks would have been rolling much sooner if the Plymouth or De Soto assembly plant had been converted.

I learned that Chrysler has recently gotten $18,000,000 to expand the arsenal—though forty percent of the required machinery is lying idle in parts' factories. And the Fisher Body division of General Motors is using more than $25,000,000 of government money to build and equip a tank assembly plant in Grand Blanc, Mich., near Flint; tank parts will be made in the Fisher Body number 1 and Buick factories in Flint.

That it is possible to utilize the existing facilities of the automobile industry to produce tanks is being demonstrated by the Ford Motor Co., which is already manufacturing parts in the River Rouge plant and preparing to assemble completed tanks in the old Ford factory at Highland Park, a suburb of Detroit. The Highland Park plant has been something of a white elephant since the erection of the huge constellation of River Rouge factories, and Ford is therefore not averse to using it for defense work.

And General Motors itself is proving the practicability of conversion for the manufacture of even so complicated a piece of machinery as an airplane engine: it is now retooling its Tonawanda and Buffalo, N. Y., Chevrolet plants to produce 1,000 Pratt & Whitney air-cooled engines a month. This is in contrast to the greater expense and delay

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involved in building a new GM plant in Chicago which will make the same engine.

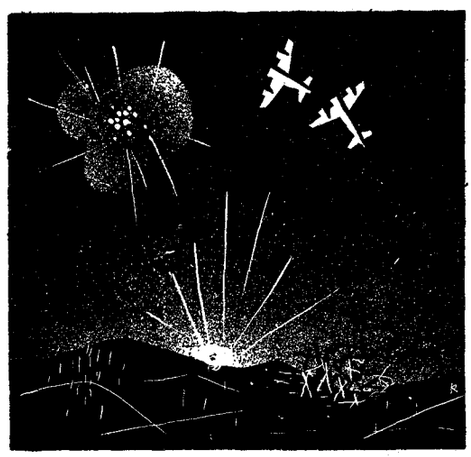
Another manifestation of the "business-as-usual" attitude is widespread inefficiency in war work. In the building of cars there is sharp competition for a limited market; a premium is therefore placed on both quantity and quality. In the manufacture of munitions there is no competition, for the market is unlimited. And so the auto companies have been content to stroll along. I heard of men on defense jobs actually idling because of lack of work. I heard of one company which, when Secretary of the Navy Knox visited a department working on war orders, shifted 250 men from auto production to this department in order to give him the impression that everything was going at full speed; when Knox's visit was over, the 250 men were sent back to their old jobs. The most experienced engineers and designers have been kept at work on auto production, while the less experienced men and recent graduates of technical schools have been assigned to the defense jobs. As a result, jigs and fixtures (these hold and guide the metal on which the machine tools perform their operations) were improperly designed, greatly delaying production.

Workers told me of other instances of mismanagement such as would not be tolerated in the manufacture of cars. In one department of the Plymouth plant, which is making fly-wheels for the Bofors anti-aircraft gun, a machine is being used which produces five fly-wheels a day and occupies the time of a highly skilled tool and die maker. The same job could be performed on a regular assembly line, with production raised to five hundred fly-wheels a day, and the tool and die maker could be released for other work. The Ternstedt plant, a General Motors subsidiary manufacturing interior hardware for cars, has been making aluminum and magnesium castings for planes, but only a little over 300 of the 9,000 workers have been employed on this job. And it is the oldest and least efficient workers who have been assigned to this work. The machinery is obsolete. Instead of multiple drills, a hand-operated drill press is being used. Each operation is done separately instead of on a mass production assembly line. In this case, I was told, the government is also partly to blame for failure to standardize parts.

WHY this extreme reluctance of the large companies to put war production first? Undoubtedly, a general underestimation of the Hitler menace is one factor. Most of the men who own and operate the nation's auto factories, whatever they may have been in the past, are not today appeasers. They want Hitler and his allies beaten, but they thought it was a job they would get around to in due time. Secondly, the readiness of the government to foot the bill for new factories makes this the line of least resistance. This is attractive for an additional reason: while the companies operate the government-owned factories and get all the profits, they are freed of the worry that after the war they will be left with a lot of excess capacity on their hands. Finally, for the big companies, profit on defense work is only about six cents per dollar sale, while on cars it is fifteen cents per dollar sale. It is notable that Ford, whose profit figures, though never published, are believed in recent years to have compared unfavorably with those of General Motors and Chrysler, has shown more eagerness for war orders than his two chief competitors. This is also true of the smaller companies, though they too prefer to have the government build new factories, leaving regular car production undisturbed.

Of course, the "business-as-usual" virus does not attack only one side. The labor movement itself, though it has brought forth such constructive proposals as the Reuther and Murray plans, has not been entirely free from this infection. And when the United Automobile Workers-CIO, at its Buffalo convention last July, adopted a resolution on foreign policy that faced two ways, it helped strengthen the lackadaisical attitude already prevalent among the employers. But at the recent CIO convention, "business as usual," whether in foreign policy, production, strikes, or jurisdictional raids, was given a severe trimming. Both the AFL and CIO have shown their readiness to cooperate to the utmost for the defeat of our country's enemies.

Central to the winning of the battle of production without which victory on the military front cannot be won is the full utilization of all available machine tools and the intensified building of new tools. Machine tools were already a crucial bottleneck at the inception of the rearmament program, and in June 1940, William S. Knudsen was assigned by Secretary of Treasury Morgenthau to coordinate the machine tool industry. Yet one year later the OPM estimated that half the machine tools in the country were used less than eight hours a day and many were idle. On May 2, 1941, President Roosevelt sent a letter to Knudsen and Sidney Hillman, associate director of the OPM, asking that steps be taken to assure that machines be worked twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. At a press conference that day the President listed among immediate objectives the gathering of "a pool of all useful or potential machine tools, whether in large or medium-sized factories or in a small garage in Hyde Park, N. Y." Again nothing was done. It is only now, since the Japanese attack, that plans are being made to institute twenty-four-hour continuous operation of war plants. As for machine tools, no announcement has so far been issued, but the fact that not even an inventory of tools has been made is a severe indictment of certain OPM officials and the leaders of big business.



Nearly one-sixth of the nation's machine tools are in auto or auto parts plants. It remained for the United Automobile Workers-CIO to turn the spotlight on idle tooling capacity in the industry. In the early fall the union's Tool, Die and Engineering Council made a survey of the available tooling machines—machines that build the tools that build the products of American industry—in 34 representative plants in Detroit and Wayne County, Mich. It was found that the tooling machines in these plants were in use only 35.54 percent of the available working time. Of the total of 1,577 tooling machines, 337, or 21.4 percent, were completely idle. And instead of a 160-hour week, the actual working time in these plants averaged less than half that figure. Undoubtedly this situation has improved somewhat in the intervening months, but up to December 7 at least the picture had not radically changed. The UAW Tool, Die and Engineering Council is now engaged in making a new survey whose results will be published shortly.

The machine tool bottleneck is closely related to the problem of subcontracting. For a large percentage of the tools that could be made available for war production are in smaller manufacturing plants which have for the most part been frozen out of war contracts. Thus we have the paradox of small firms threatened with extinction because they cannot get materials for civilian output while the nation desperately needs their facilities for war production. The new Division of Contract Distribution is now grappling with this problem, but it is a problem for big business, as well as little, for the country as a whole.

All told, the automobile industry has booked about $4,000,000,000 in war contracts, more than half of which are for aircraft and for plane engines. The most intriguing project is the new $58,000,000 bomber plant that Ford is building at government expense near Ypsilanti, about thirty miles from Detroit. This will manufacture complete Consolidated four-engine B-24 bombers, as well as parts for other Consolidated factories. I heard a great deal about the new Ford plant during my trip to Detroit. When in full operation it will employ sixty to seventy thousand workers, and it is claimed that it will produce one bomber an hour. On a 160-hour-week basis this would mean over 8,000 a year. Even if that figure is on the wishful side, quite a number of bombers for all anti-Hitler fronts will be pouring out of the Ford plant.

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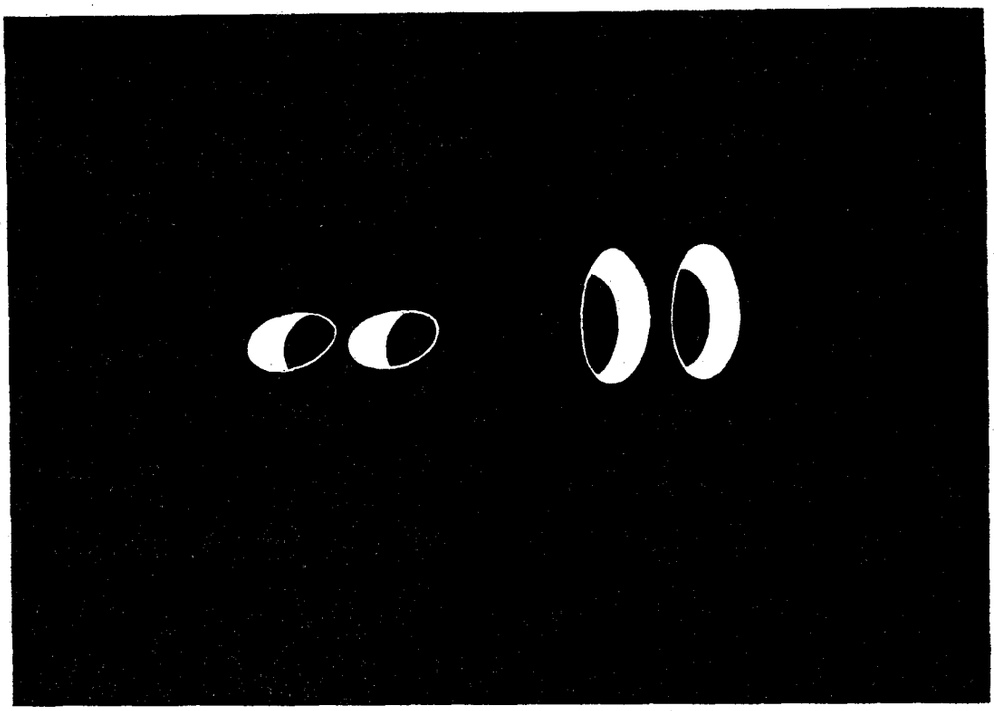
It is scheduled to start production in May, but, according to the UAW Tool, Die and Engineering Council, "If the War Department could be induced to freeze the Ford bomber design immediately, it is our opinion that production of bombers would start around the end of February."

The *Wall Street Journal* estimates that by the end of 1942 over $3,000,000,000 in war supplies will have been produced and shipped by the auto industry, with operations at a $4,000,000,000 a year rate by the latter part of 1942. This rate will still be only about eight or ten percent of our annual war production. In view of the fact that General Motors alone accounts for eight percent of the national output of durable goods, the auto industry ought to be able to do a good deal better than $4,000,000,000 a year for the defeat of Hitler and his partners in crime. It should be remembered that even in a 5,000,000-car year the automobile industry does not operate at full capacity. Production is largely concentrated in six months, and even in this period equipment is generally used only part time. For instance, during the first four months of work on the 1942 models, when output in some weeks surpassed that of the previous year, most plants operated on only two shifts. Thus the actual potentialities are much greater than any present production figures indicate.

Nor is this all. In a speech in New York on December 13, Walter Reuther, director of the General Motors division of the United Automobile Workers, proposed that GM, Chrysler, and Ford pool tank-construction facilities and use a single set of tools and dies. "In that way," he said, "we can tool up for production in half the time. . . . and once we are in production, we can turn out three times as many tanks as are contemplated under present schedules."

THIS PROPOSAL is, of course, feasible for the production of other items as well. It may run counter to the traditional competitive methods of the profit system, but the very nature of this emergency has already made it necessary for some of our most rugged individualists to dispense with many habits that stand in the way of national defense. And since the government foots the bill for a large part of the tools and dies used in war production, why can it not insist that there be a pooling of facilities? The principle of Reuther's proposal is, in fact, already being used by the Division of Contract Distribution in shifting small plants to war production. The washer and ironer industry, for example, the first to be completely converted from civilian to war production, has pooled its engineering brains and divided up its contracts among the various companies. All activity is supervised by a committee representing the entire industry which works closely with the government. Director Odlum of the DCD is urging formation of similar committees in other industries and the holding of industry-wide conversion conferences. A step beyond this would be labor-management production committees, and this is now definitely part of the government's plan. Certainly labor in the automobile industry has demonstrated its capacity for disinterested, constructive effort for the national good. In 1940 it conceived the Reuther plan whose basic principle, conversion of existing facilities, has been fully vindicated. The men on the production line and in the tool and die shops have the "know-how." And when they propose that their union get together with the companies and the government to plan war production, they are grinding no axe except the axe that will smash Hitlerism. As of the period prior to December 7, only a few of the small firms, which were unable to get either raw materials or defense contracts, were disposed to accept co-operation from the union. In the office of Local 155, UAW, Business Agent Nat Ganley showed me a clause in a new contract the local had just signed with a steel casting company that employs 800 workers. It read: "Both parties hereto agree to set aside a portion of each bargaining conference to discuss how to help advance the defense program of the nation as it affects the work and conditions in this company." Ganley told me that the company wanted to change this clause to read: ". . . discuss how to help advance the work and conditions in this company as it affects the defense program of the nation." But the union said: nothing doing; defense comes first. And the union won. Rather, I should say, *national defense won.*



BENITO: *"Adolph, do you think things are as black as they seem?"*

And national defense—which means victory in the war—must win everywhere throughout American industry. When the irreconcilable conflict broke, the United Automobile Workers wired General Motors asking that production be placed on a twenty-four hour, seven-day schedule—a proposal which the union had made to all the companies months ago. B. D. Kunkle, GM vice president, replied in effect: yes—but. General Motors was willing provided the union would forego extra payment for overtime and for Saturday, Sunday and holiday work. Certainly the workers will make necessary sacrifices, but with the nation fighting for its life, this powerful corporation, which in the first nine months of 1941 made a net profit of $161,175,834, haggles over a few cents an hour. I like to think that Kunkle and Sloan and Wilson are as good patriots as Reuther and Addes and Thomas. And the outlook is far from hopeless when Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the New York *World-Telegram,* can write in the December 17 issue of that paper: "No one will argue against the idea of all-out production irrespective of the cost. It would be the equivalent of tossing money out the window, however, to continue building new plants if we are unable to man and operate to full capacity those we already have. And a few extra dollars paid out in wages for night and Sunday work would be money better spent than an equal or much larger amount for plants which will lie idle later on."

There is no time to lose in shifting war production in the auto industry into high gear. Consider what would happen if this tremendous aggregation of motor power were turned over entirely to building tanks, planes, guns, shells, etc., and were operated 160 hours a week, twelve months of the year, as President Roosevelt has requested of all war plants. It is literally true that, not in some distant future, but within a few months the American automobile industry alone could produce planes and tanks at a higher rate than the whole of Japanese war industry. That's what one might call sending Hitler and Hirohito to hell in a streamlined hack.

A. B. MAGIL.

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WHAT MAKES HITLER RUN

Colonel T. surveys the Red Army's lightning moves against the Nazis. How the offensive got started. The trouble with some military experts. . . .

MILITARY events on the German-Soviet Front are moving with such lightning (blitz to the armchair strategist) rapidity that any analysis must be predicated on and prefaced with an emphatic limitation in time. This is where *deadlines* (in journalistic parlance) cross *front lines*. I therefore will attempt to draw a general picture of what happened on the Eastern Front during the fateful days between December 7 and 17.

It must be remembered that on November 20 Marshal Timoshenko began his advance in the Donets Basin. On November 28 the armies of Generals Remisov and Kharitinov struck at Rostov and routed von Kleist's army, consisting of the Sixth, Fourteenth, and Sixteenth Panzer Divisions, the Sixtieth Motorized Infantry Division, and the Viking SS Division. Within a few days General Meretskov struck at the other extreme German flank where General von Schmidt had pushed his Twelfth Panzer, Eighteenth Motorized, and 101st Infantry Division to Tikhvin with the obvious intention of either cutting through to Vologda to cut off Archangel from Moscow (maximum objective), or joining the Finns on the Svir River (minimum objective) and completely surrounding Leningrad. Meretskov routed von Schmidt and dispersed his divisions in the woods and marshes of this wilderness.

Remember that both of these strokes were delivered in quick succession against the advanced flanks of the Germans which were pointed like daggers toward the two "windpipes" of the Soviet Union—the Archangel route and the Caucasian-Iranian route to the outside world. And before Meretskov had had time to complete his mopping up, the great blow in the center fell with overwhelming force. On December 7 the radio of one of Nazi General Guderian's divisions crackled for help from somewhere east of Tula. General Boldin's Red Army was advancing on Venev. Guderian answered his commanders: "Burn your machines and retreat southeastward." This is how it started. But it did not start at Tula only. The whole front from Leningrad to Taganrog sprang into action.

No description of the extraordinary coordination and precise planning of "G-1" of the Red Army High Command can give a picture of the complex maneuvers which took place. The best thing is to use the diagram on the facing page which shows where blows were struck. It must be remembered that the front line after ten days of fighting cannot possibly be exactly drawn here. The line as of December 7, at the beginning of the great offensive, is approximately exact. So is the notation of routed German divisions. Their composition is important to note.

ON DECEMBER 6 Moscow was in great danger. The enemy arc around it was more than a semi-circle—an unmistakable sign of envelopment. The two arms of huge pincers had bitten into Dmitrov, past Klin, and into Kashira, east of Serpukhov. In the center the Germans were at Golitzino, twenty-five miles west of Moscow, on the highway to Mozhaisk. Tula was in a deep pocket—about fifty miles deep and only four or five miles wide. Between December 7 and 11 this is what eight Red Army generals did under the leadership of Stalin.

(1) General Iliushenko occupied Rogachevo and encircled Klin.

(2) General Kuznetsov crashed through past Klin and emerged to the southwest of the city, cutting off the German divisions in Solnechnogorsk from those to the north.

(3) General Vlasov occupied Solnechnogorsk.

(4) General Rokossovski (hailed as the "Savior of Moscow") occupied Istra and pursued the Germans toward Volokolamsk.

(5) General Govorov broke the infantry "pivot of maneuver" on the Mozhaisk highway which was to form a fulcrum for the enveloping movement of the panzer arms of the huge pincers, and advanced toward Mozhaisk.

(6) General Boldin smashed Guderian's advance divisions northeast of Tula.

(7) General Belov's Cavalry Corps sliced the enemy flank east of Tula and pursued its remnants southward.

(8) General Golikov smashed westward slightly south of Tula and caught the Germans retreating under the blows of Belov's Cavalry Guards on the rebound.

And then the Red Army launched a blow in the direction of Orel and Kursk and simultaneously Generals Maskennikov and Fuzkevich struck at Kalinin and captured the city, routing the divisions of General von Strauss and reopening the direct line Leningrad-Moscow (Oktiabrski railroad). The retreating remnants of von Strauss at this writing are already fifty miles west of Kalinin and will imminently bump into a Soviet column heading them off from the direction of Torzhok toward Rzhev.

SUCH is the general picture of the great offensive of the Red Army which was supposed to have "no strategists left." The Germans, of course, try to picture all this as a premeditated retreat to "shorter lines," "better strategic positions," and "winter quarters." Some (shall we say—many?) so-called military analysts echo them, intentionally or unintentionally.

Patronizingly Hanson W. Baldwin of the New York *Times* infers that the "Russians are fighting so far *only* the Germans and Italians. . . ." And, echoing Mr. Goebbels, Baldwin also says that ". . . their claim (i.e. the Germans') that they had retired to 'more advantageous positions' (from Rostov) may in some part be true." In other words, the Germans who held the key to the Caucasus and excellent winter quarters in Rostov decided that the wind-swept steppe around Mariupol was more "advantageous."

And then, there is the newspaper *PM's* General (no reflection on the Postmaster General, who maybe knows more about war) who compares the German rout on the Eastern Front to the strategic retreat of Ludendorff from the Arras-Soissons salient in March 1917 and writes: "As in France in March 1917, the Germans have been forced . . . to shorten their lines and to move back. The chances are that a retreat was decided upon to shorter or more defensible lines, perhaps to strong points prepared in the rear."

How can one compare the loss of jumping-off places to Moscow, Leningrad, and Rostov, to the strategic abandonment of the useless salient Arras-Soissons, with an area of some 1,500 square miles in all and containing nothing of real importance? An abandonment which was quickly, smoothly, and efficiently performed in one day (March 16, 1917), so smoothly that

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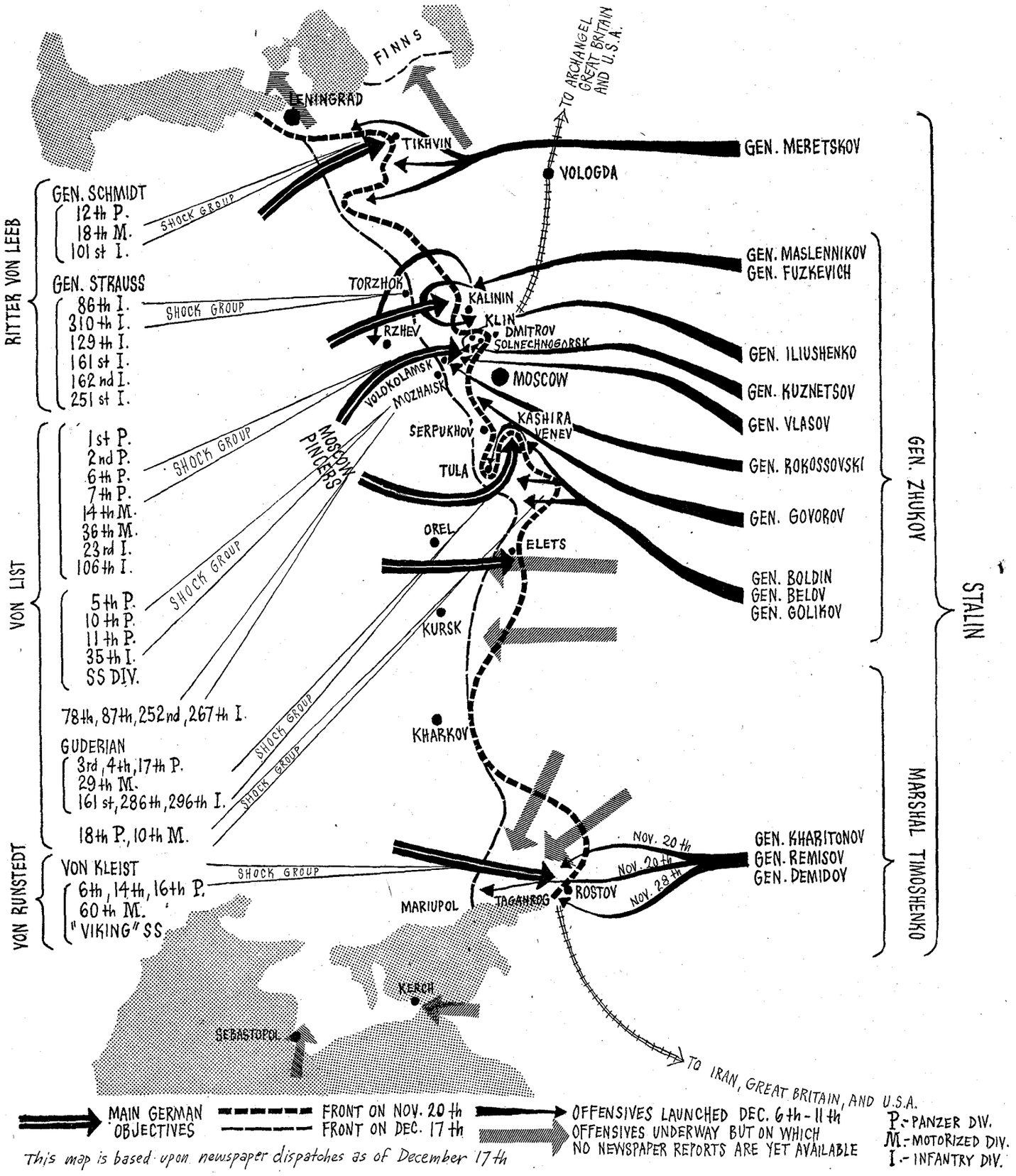

This map is based upon newspaper dispatches as of December 17th

Generals Robertson and Nivelle did not notice it for several days.

Now look, pray, at the diagram. What do you see? You see that the cream of the offensive power of the German army was concentrated on the Tikhvin, Klin, Tula, and Rostov sectors up to dawn of December 6. Is that an indication that "a retreat had been decided upon"?

You see that fifteen panzer divisions, six motorized infantry divisions, and fourteen infantry divisions have been shattered and routed, with probably a total of more than 100 in retreat on a front of over 1,000 miles. Is that a sign of "voluntary retirement"?

Did Japan strike on December 7 because it knew that the Germans were going to fall back from all three objectives—Moscow, Leningrad, and Rostov? Didn't Hitler declare war upon the United States on December 11 because he needed at least the alibi of fighting the entire world? Gentlemen analysts, the days of squirming under the weight of your own prophecies are over. Fold up and go back to school!

COLONEL T.

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BRITAIN'S LESSONS IN CIVILIAN DEFENSE

Claude Cockburn tells Americans what they can learn from London's experience. . . . A firsthand report from Moscow describing what happened at the Tolstoy shrine. Vandals of 1941.

London (by Cable).

It seems to me—and probably to about 10,000,000 other English people—that there ought to be something useful that we could tell you as a result of our war experience. Naturally the differences between your situation and ours—for instance, the difference between the mainly clay soil of London and the rock of Manhattan—are such that it is, of course, impossible to go into close details about what has to be done in order that a country shall be both effectively protected against enemy attack and at the same time shall be effectively mobilized for attack against the enemy. Nevertheless, it does seem that there are a number of general principles which we have learned here which may possibly be of some use to you.

We may as well begin with the most concrete question. We have had here a great deal of trouble about the question of deep air raid shelters as against surface shelters. We believe that we have evolved a type of shelter which is an ideal substitute for the real deep shelter, which of course should be built wherever it is possible. For reasons which we need not go into now, our government at the beginning refused to build deep shelters. We then reached a position where it proved impossible to catch up on the failures of the government so that we were compelled to adopt any compromise. That took the form of the so-called Haldane shelters. These were designed to provide maximum shelter for a maximum number of people at a minimum expenditure of time and trouble. There was a certain amount of political resistance to suggestions for these shelters. This has, to some extent, been overcome.

However, it is true that when it comes to the point, shelters are not the real center of the problem. The real problem does not occur at the moment when the bombs drop, but at a later moment when the falling of the bombs causes a disruption of public services. I believe on the basis of experience in Coventry, Glasgow, Birmingham, and of course London, that the after-bomb problem is much more serious than the problem of shelters. People are not in fact seriously incommoded by the actual falling of bombs unless they happen to be killed or maimed by them. In any case, the point is that on the following morning the dead are dead and the living are faced with the problem of a new day. That is why the question of the maintenance of gas and electric supply is more important than even the question of shelters.

WE HAVE FOUND here that while people are prepared to face a night of blitz without even discomfort, they are gravely upset by the fact that for possibly two days after such a night, it is impossible to get a cup of coffee or any kind of hot meal. It is our experience that the most essential need is the provision of adequate substitutes for the normal public services. Of course, your public utilities are run on different lines from ours but the problem probably remains roughly the same. And our experience shows that the essential thing is to meet on the morning after a raid the normal needs in terms of tea, coffee, and food for the working people.

Therefore, the most essential job is, so far as air raids are concerned, to make sure that there is really adequate provision for the housing and feeding and transportation to work of the people whose lives have been disrupted by the raid. Here, on account of our particular system of local government, we have been in a very bad situation as regards the maintenance of this kind of service. We have mightily improved since the first raids, but we still have a long way to go. For instance, we have had the situation in certain cities where it appeared that there was really no authority responsible for taking charge of and housing the immediate surviving victims of a raid. I do not know whether your system opens the way to similar difficulties. If it does, these are holes which should be plugged immediately. To meet these difficulties, it is clear that there must be a major readjustment of the relationships between, in our case, the central government and the local authorities, and in your case, an adjustment—major or minor as the case may be—between the federal authorities, the state authorities, and the municipal or other local authorities concerned. None of this will appear immediately as the essential of civilian defense. But you will find, at least we have found, that these are really vital matters and that our failure to meet them has been the central weakness of our whole civilian defense scheme.

All of this means—and I believe that this is one of the biggest things we have learned which may be of some use to you—that you cannot treat total war otherwise than as a total phenomenon. Apart, however, from the question of air raid defense, I would list the following as basic matters which we have at least partially learned here. It is essential to conscript for all services rather than to issue general appeals for recruits. This is not because our people are unwilling to come forward, but simply because any service for which there is not conscription is in the nature of things regarded by large numbers of people as an unessential service. Secondly, it is necessary that much greater sums of money should be spent on the organization of civilian defense than we originally spent, indeed, than we are spending now. Our Treasury has a phobia about inflation. For this reason all sorts of services are partially strangled in order to "save" money. We have gradually learned that this so-called saving of money is illusory. The essential fact is that one must organize civil defense and, one might say, "social" defense on the largest possible scale at the earliest possible moment regardless of cost.

A VITALLY important lesson that is being slowly learned here is the lesson of how to, so to speak, dovetail purely passive defense into defense of a partially offensive character —that is to say, defense which is capable of serious counter-attack or of releasing forces for serious counter-attack. It is probably true that we, following Dunkirk, were necessarily thrown into a defensive state of mind and that our home guard and many of our other defense units were originally organized with a sort of backs to the wall defensiveness in mind. That was probably justified at the time. But we are beginning to feel that we have now passed beyond that period and that we should find ways and means of utilizing the huge manpower and the considerable skill developed in the home guard in such a way that it will more effectively fit into the general scheme between the armed forces on the one hand and the factories on the other. Many here feel that it will be possible for you, since you are not at the moment as immediately hard pressed as we were at Dunkirk, to evolve a system which would be both less primitive and less local than ours—something which would fit in better th factory work, with the successiv ry call-ups and with other civilian d

In future correspondence I ho ell

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LEO TOLSTOY'S GRAVE *at Yasnaya Polyana*

THE GREAT NOVELIST'S STUDY, *wrecked by the Nazi vandals*

you a good deal more of our experience which may be of value to you.

CLAUDE COCKBURN.

★

Moscow (by cable).

THE other day, in the company of some Russian friends, I motored to Yasnaya Polyana, estate of the renowned Tolstoy. It was retaken from the Nazis by the Red Army units. Yasnaya Polyana is dear to the heart of the Russian people and is visited by tens of thousands of people annually.

Tolstoy's country house stands in the heart of a large wooded park and had been carefully preserved by the Soviet government as a national museum. On the far side of the park is the village where the great writer founded the school which bears his name to this day. Tolstoy's grave, an ordinary fenced-in mound of earth, lies on the edge of the forest which extended as far as I could see around Yasnaya Polyana.

The great snow-covered park is still, save for the chirping of the chaffinches in the trees. And now and again the boom of heavy artillery is heard in the distance as Soviet long range guns shell the retreating German columns. But the stillness is not merely the result of the winter grip on the countryside. There is a crowd of people here, villagers, school children, Red Army men, and newspaper correspondents. But none can utter a word. Deliberate and calculated destruction, smoldering buildings, roofless houses, lindens and limes ruthlessly felled, and books wantonly torn from their shelves and scattered on the snow. All this tells only too plainly that modern Gothic hordes pillaged and destroyed this shrine of Russian and world culture with the same gusto as their barbarian ancestors sacked and laid waste ancient Rome.

But at last the silence is broken. Womenfolk wipe the tears from their eyes, men cough, and Maria Tchegolova of the staff of the museum describes in a sobbing voice the vandalism perpetrated by the Nazis.

ON OCTOBER 29 a number of German planes flew over the estate and, although there were no Red Army units near the place, they bombed and machine-gunned the estate and the adjacent villages. Fortunately the museum escaped damage, but the brutes killed a number of villagers. "Then at 2 PM," said Tchegolova, "Sophia Tolstoy, the writer's great-granddaughter, came running to the basement where we were sheltering from the raiders and told us that German tanks were going along the highway past the estate." Shortly afterward German officers made their appearance, and, taking possession of the museum, ordered the curator to clear the exhibits in order to make room for the German soldiers. When the curator remonstrated that the Tolstoy Museum was extremely valuable national property and that there were other buildings available, the Nazi officer threateningly fingered the trigger of his revolver. Two days later the soldiers began systematically to wreck the museum. Rare manuscripts and book collections of Tolstoy's works in various languages of the world, numerous photographs and paintings by Repin, Levitan, and other eminent Russian painters were taken down and strewn anywhere.

On the first of November General Guderian, whose tank corps has been shattered by the Red Army and who is now in full retreat, visited Tolstoy's house, giving it a quick look over. After Guderian had taken his departure, a number of officers made their appearance and, seizing along with other objects a rare photograph of Tolstoy, declared that the general wanted a souvenir.

One day the staff of the museum found Nazi soldiers in Tolstoy's dining room, chopping the table and some of his armchairs for firewood. Members of the staff immediately lodged a complaint pointing out that there was any amount of firewood nearby. To this the officer replied, "We are not worrying about firewood, but we are going to burn everything in any way connected with your Tolstoy."

Similar acts of vandalism were perpetrated in the park which was Tolstoy's pride and which he carefully tended. A little rustic bridge which he built with his own hands has been destroyed. Majestic Avenue is littered with felled trees. In the lovely apple orchard trees are broken and crushed, while the vandals made bonfires of the seats and benches. But flesh and blood couldn't stand this and the day came when somebody in the village threw a hand grenade at the German staff car. In reprisal the Germans seized the first two men they could lay their hands on and, after subjecting them to torture, hanged them and left their bodies hanging for days. Then the Nazis pillaged and sacked the surrounding villages.

Just before retreating from the Tolstoy estate, they set fire to the village school and hospital and then began to burn down the house in which the great writer lived and worked. In the library they piled up wood, straw, and precious books and, soaking them with petroleum, put a match to them so that the floor and walls were consumed by flames. Fortunately, the attempt to burn the entire building was frustrated. A young doctor, a number of collective farmers, and a group of schoolboys, without regard for the Nazi machine gun fire and danger from the flames, battled heroically and had the satisfaction of winning. Thanks to their efforts, Tolstoy's house, though not intact, has been preserved for posterity.

While looking at the senseless destruction wrought by the bearers of a "new order," I was vividly reminded of the British Broadcasting Company's "Stones Cry Out" programs. Listening to the broadcasts describing the wanton destruction of historic buildings in London, Plymouth, Manchester, Southampton, and other towns, I have been moved to terrific anger and hatred for the Nazi scoundrels who have no respect for human life or feelings. And that was how the other people and I felt in Yasnaya Polyana Park the other day. But it was good to hear the echo of our heavy guns come rolling back over the forest, for we knew that away to the West, Red Army men were pursuing the retreating horde, wreaking vengeance for the damage and suffering caused by them.

JOHN GIBBONS.

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Common Sense About Air Raids

The bombers have not been able to destroy production nor cripple morale, Milton D. Ellis points out. The fallacious Nazi theory of "the total knockout." The lesson for America.

AIR power has clearly proved itself one of the decisive factors in military and naval operations: Norway, Crete, Hawaii, and the sinking of the *Arizona, Repulse,* and *Prince of Wales* all bear ample testimony to this fact. But, strangely enough, air power has proved inconclusive when used against civilian populations—either for the purpose of destroying morale or disrupting production. Indeed, the war does not afford a single instance of a city's being "knocked out" by air raids alone, no matter how savage and sustained the raids may have been.

This is a fact for Americans—faced with aerial attacks on their coastal cities—to bear well in mind. The casualty lists of the world's bombed cities appear staggering in newsprint, their property losses immense in the newsreel; and undoubtedly these losses have been severe. A series of raids on Barcelona, almost totally without anti-aircraft defenses and fighter planes, in March 1938, resulted in 20,000 killed and injured; 40,000 persons were reportedly slaughtered in the bombing of Rotterdam in May 1940; 2,500 were killed in the bombing of Coventry in November 1940. In each case property damage from blast and fire was very large. Yet, when compared to the total population and ground area, the extent of the destruction will be seen as relatively small. As living organisms, the bombed cities have survived, their productive capacity only temporarily reduced, their morale if anything improved.

Warsaw and Rotterdam may appear as exceptions to this rule. Yet here the air raids were an integral part of military operations directed at *occupying* the city. The intention of such raids is thus quite different from those the Nazis have leveled at cities deep in the enemy rear. It is the latter which seem to have substantially failed.

HITLER'S THEORETICIANS simply underestimated the strength and vitality of the modern industrial city. These arrogant gentry saw such communities as simple, one-celled organisms whose "life-centers" could be destroyed, and powers of recuperation and replacement permanently paralyzed, by one sharp overwhelming blow. This theory has fascinated the Nazis for a decade, and on it they have erected an entire school of technical literature. Yet the contrary has proved to be the case. The city proved to be a very complex organism, with quite astonishing powers of resistance and recuperation. Madrid, Barcelona, Liverpool, London, Leningrad, Kiev, Moscow—one by one these heroic cities have proved that *the only way to wound seriously their morale or knock their productive capacity out of the hands of their owners is by complete military conquest.* Obviously, we are not here attributing to these cities any character independent of their citizens. The fall of the cities of northern France shows that it was the way the people were misled by their leaders—not peculiar street layouts, destroyed water mains, or inadequate shelters—which determined a city's resistance to aerial attack.

Even more astonishing to the Nazi generals must have been the way in which these cities have actually *increased* their productive capacity under conditions of heavy and repeated aerial attack. Thus the production of British war industry—largely concentrated in those midland cities which have been so heavily blitzed in the past—has steadily increased. Leningrad, under both artillery and aerial attack, and largely isolated from contact with the rest of the Soviet Union, has at least maintained the production of armaments and munitions for her own defense.

Thus it seems clear that cities cannot be knocked out by aerial attacks alone, however massive; at the worst, their productive capacity is only temporarily slowed down while at the best it can be greatly increased; civilian morale is not destroyed nor the loss of life decisive; and under comprehensive air raid precaution (ARP) programs, damage to life, morale, production, and property can be reduced to near the vanishing point. In other words, the Nazi theoreticians are finding that their theory of the "total knockout" was fallacious to begin with, and that under rising Allied resistance, its limited effectiveness is being further reduced by the law of diminishing returns.

The record of Europe is worth studying right now, when so many of us find ourselves in the huge metropolitan areas which dot both coast lines. Here hysteria over air raids and sabotage may possibly occur; and such hysteria might well find fertile ground in another concept which has been widely circulated in this country for years. This might be called the "key man" theory of the vulnerability of big cities. At one time or another we've all been startled out of our skins by some version of it. "Six key men with a phial of bacilli could wipe out New York City by poisoning its water supply!" "Three key men could pull certain master switches and paralyze the whole town!" "A well placed bomb at 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue would disrupt six levels of steam, water, gas, sewer, phone and light lines, and bring Manhattan to its knees in no time flat!"

So might it also be said that a well placed bullet between Adolph Hitler's eyes would destroy the Lord knows how many nerve cells and bring him down in no time flat. But in real life it has proved relatively easy to prevent that bullet's being well placed; while no one but a fool believes that the destruction of Hitler would, by itself, mean the end of world fascism.

Pointless in peacetime, such "key men" tales may be actually dangerous in war. There is no denying that a modern city *is* a complex affair, with many vulnerable and vital points. But this fact is not something which operates *only* in favor of Nazi airmen or Japanese saboteurs. The obverse of the coin is that the society which produced one such incredibly delicate and complicated system as the modern automatic telephone exchange can quickly replace it with a hundred more. And American workmen, with the skill and intelligence necessary to fabricate and operate it, can be relied upon for the intelligence and courage required to defend it.

This is no argument against full and complete civilian defense for American cities. On the contrary, European experience indicates that the degree to which the over-all efficiency of a given city is reduced by air raids is in exact proportion to the efficacy of its air defenses. Here again we can cite the known facts about three world capitals—Chungking, London, and Moscow.

CHUNGKING, with practically no AA or fighter defense, has been open to heavy periodic blows from Japanese aircraft. Time and again that unfortunate city has undergone attacks which, to the individual observer, appear absolutely disastrous. We do not know how many Chinese have lost their lives, how many buildings have been destroyed, how much the efficiency of the governmental agencies has been reduced by those raids. But we do not need expert analyses to convince us that—within the limits forced on her by circumstances—Chungking's ARP has greatly reduced the effectiveness of Japan's aerial blows.

Nazi H-E and incendiary bombs have reduced large areas of London to fields of rubble. Thousands of its citizens have been killed or wounded. Railway stations, bus lines, subways have been repeatedly hit; power stations smashed; docks, homes, and

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factories destroyed. London has never in any sense been knocked out. But, as the war progresses, it is apparent that her defenses are steadily increasing in effectiveness, overtaking the maximum rate of Nazi assault. Englishmen have always been convinced that "there would always be an England"; and, thanks to ARP, much less of it will have been destroyed at the war's end than would have been the case otherwise.

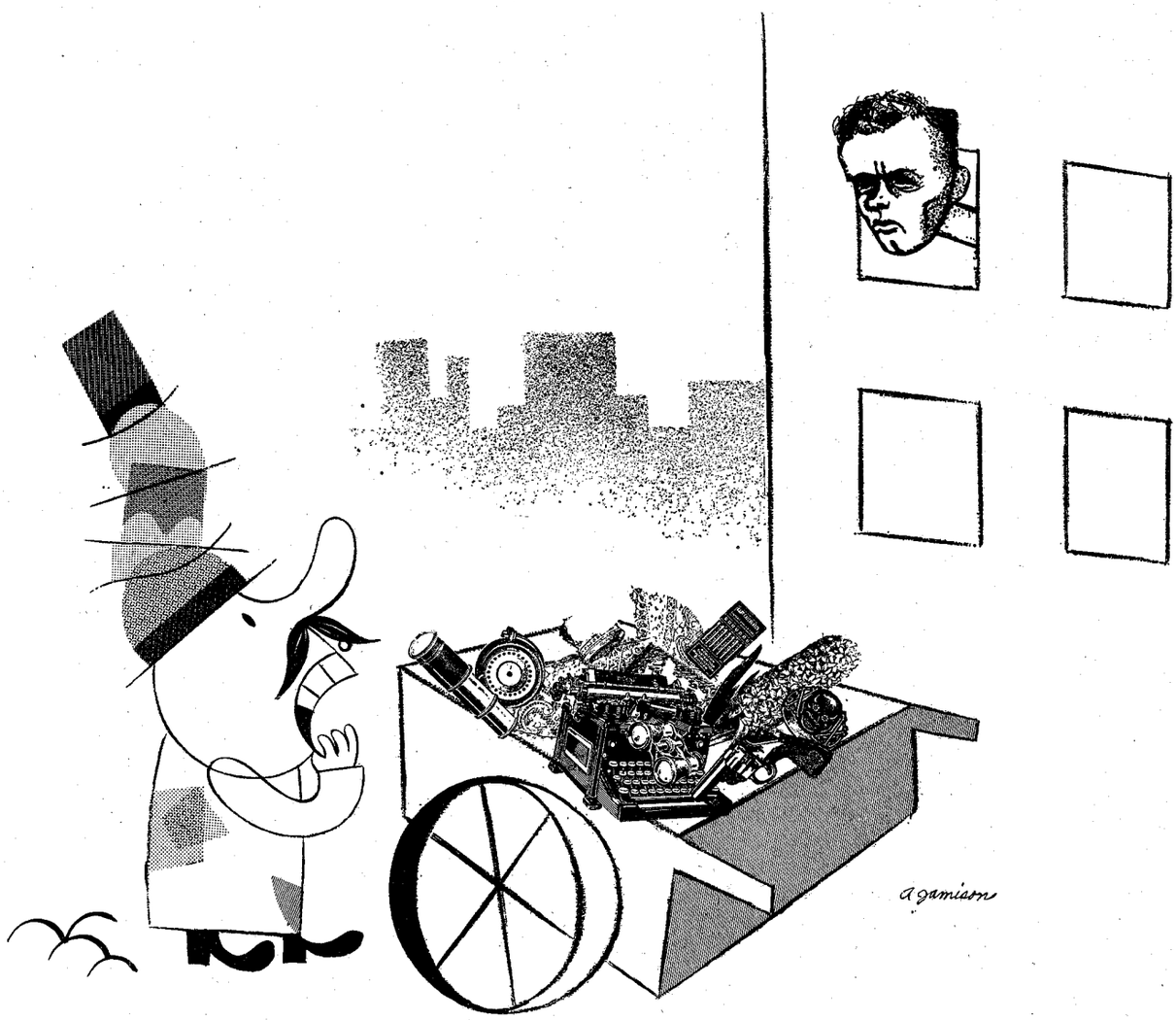
Moscow offers us the most striking example of the way in which effective ARP can reduce interruptions in civilian life and industrial production to near the vanishing point. We shall probably have to wait until after the war to learn what proportion of the population or percentage of floor area has been destroyed by air raids in the various cities of Europe. But, from newspaper reports, it seems apparent that Moscow will have the lowest rates. American newsmen, returning to the Soviet capital for the first time since they were evacuated on October 15, are astonished at the absence of destruction. According to Wallace Kerr, of the New York *Herald Tribune:* "The city is calm. Physically it has withstood the ordeal easily. A bombed building is a rare sight, and in that respect Moscow is nothing like London." This of a sprawling city of 5,000,000 persons, which was at one time within twenty-five miles of the world's greatest battlefront.

If intense and sustained Nazi raids across thirty miles of English Channel or forty miles of Moscow pineland could not appreciably reduce the productive capacity of these cities, then San Diego and Wilmington are in no danger of being "wiped off the map" by carrier-based Axis air fleets. They will not even suffer appreciable losses *if every aspect of their civil defense is correctly organized.* For military authorities are agreed that Axis air attacks against our seaboard cities can be only of the hit-and-run type, and will result in serious damage only if they find our cities unprepared.

It should be remembered that the mere *threat* of air raids against our coastal cities is itself an important aspect of Nazi strategy. The threat alone is sufficient to immobilize important quantities of manpower, arms, and equipments which might be otherwise used on the war fronts proper. Even an alarm without a raid is an expensive proposition in terms of disrupted routines, lost working or sleeping time, blackout accidents, frayed nerves, etc. All the more reason, then, that rumor-mongering and panic be ruthlessly crushed, that all alarms be carried out with dispatch, discipline, and calmness.

Finally, all of us should learn the basic facts about the offices, factories, homes, and cities in which we work and live: how they operate, what their vital points are, how they must be protected and how repaired. This is not as difficult or as mysterious as H. G. Wells would have us believe. Common sense is the common denominator for most human activities; and you don't have to be an electrical engineer to help protect your factory or municipal power plant against sabotage, or to assist in restoring it to order if it is bombed. For the danger is precisely that loose talk about key men, bacilli, well placed bombs, and non-existent "master" switches will deflect us from the less dramatic but much more important business of completely effective black-outs, air alarm and warden systems, fire-watching, etc. And what instruction or experience is required along these lines can be had from participation in the various civilian services now being established throughout the land.

MILTON D. ELLIS.



"Any old medals for sale?" A. Jamison

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THE POSTER *by John Atherton which won first prize in the competition sponsored by the Museum of Modern Art and which will be used by the government to promote the sale of defense bonds.*

FOOD IN THE WAR

How America's farmer can feed the nation amply and supply our allies. Bruce Minton discusses the need to multiply the crops of the small farms.

Washington.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT was the first to state the new outlook for agriculture. As far back as August, he sent a letter to Secretary of Agriculture Claude R. Wickard informing him that from then on policy must be directed toward encouraging a program of abundance in place of crop reduction and restriction. The Secretary responded with an outline of plans to assure increases.

Today these first estimates appear inadequate. Just last week the Department released a statement by the Secretary which made clear that "Using 100 as the index of farm production for the 1924-29 period . . . for 1941 it is estimated to be 113, and for 1942 it is expected to be 115 . . . total production next year would be only about two percent greater than this year. . . ."

True, in the light of the new situation created by the entrance of the United States into direct hostilities, all schedules are being reexamined, and within the next month will undoubtedly be revised. But the danger still remains that such revisions will not be sufficiently bold. Secretary Wickard has adopted the slogan, "Food will win the war and write the peace." But has he taken this sentiment as seriously and as literally as the magnitude of the task warrants?

For the United States has to meet a mighty strain on its productive capacities. It needs food for an army of four to eight million men who must eat heavier and better than they were accustomed to eating before being inducted into the armed services. Our army must be physically the very best army possible —and must be fed accordingly. It is also well to remember that half of those summoned under the selective service act were rejected because of ill health—in the majority of cases due to improper nourishment. There remains the problem of rehabilitation, a pressing and immediate problem for which, largely, the cure is better food in greater amounts. Then, too, if men working in the factories are to function with maximum efficiency, their diet must be correspondingly nutritious and plentiful.

We have pledged food to the beleaguered British Isles. We have the obligation and the desire to provide our other Allies with the food they can no longer grow for themselves because of Axis destruction and occupation. There will be larger and important armies in the Near East, the Far East—they also must be provisioned without stint. And aside from these huge drains on our agricultural plant, the administration wisely calls for the creation of stock piles of food reserves to be used in emergencies and after the war to feed the hungry of Europe and Asia.

Once the needs are stated, the two percent increase in agricultural production becomes obviously too small. Even now the Department economists admit privately that far from achieving plenty at home, this country suffers from serious underconsumption. We need more than a two percent rise to guarantee our own war effort; but we have to provide for the anti-fascist peoples of the world and for postwar demands that must eventually be met. There can be no argument that the time has come to set about correcting glaring underestimates.

IN DEVELOPING GOALS, conservatism has resulted in agricultural unpreparedness just as it has led to the insufficient readiness of industry. The reasons for reluctance to expand farm capacity are many. It proved hard to break down old patterns of thought, to plan in terms of greater yields after years of AAA and the premises of curtailment. More important, those farm organizations that spoke for the largest farmers, and for the processors and speculators, held back. The National Grange and the Farm Bureau Federation, which always maintained a powerful lobby in Washington and which had a disproportionate say in policies of the Department of Agriculture, bucked expansion for their own reasons. Perhaps Secretary Wickard has listened more often to their importunities than did his predecessor, Henry Wallace. The Department compromised rather reluctantly—nevertheless, it compromised. Administration spokesmen at the September conference of farm organizations in New York City were apologetic. On the one hand, they insisted that the big farmers had nothing

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to fear because the new crop quotas would only slightly supersede those of the present year; on the other, they intimated that the program was inadequate even in terms of this country.

Moreover, other pressures were also felt in favor of restraint. Many farmers remembered the debacle that followed the last war—and they were reluctant to go along with expansionist ideas. Most of all, the isolationists busily threw assorted monkey wrenches, sand, and emery dust into the machinery. Here we must chalk up considerable "success" for the America First crowd who sabotaged the country's security on so many fronts. Former Ambassador to Belgium Cudahy, of the meat-packing trust, and a very noisy isolationist, looked with horror on a program encouraging the small farmer. Louis J. Taber, head of the National Grange (who refused to affirm or deny his affiliation with America First, though he openly expressed sympathy with the organization's "aims"), added his objections to plans for higher farm yields. These men spread confusion. And thereby they helped to delay and to whittle down plans to produce.

What many of the largest producers feared most was that greater output would restore the small farmer as a factor in agriculture and thus weaken the big owners' hold on the industry. They thought, not peculiarly, in terms of greater and greater profits. If more commodities came on the market, their ability to skyrocket prices during the emergency would be to some extent limited. They didn't like that. They liked even less the prospect that inflated farm prices already established might be forced back into line.

The small and middle-sized farmers saw things quite differently. They wanted primarily to be sure of getting the cost of production. They were interested in raising crops and in winning a decent standard of living for themselves and their families, in making their farms better units of production. Many of the big fellows were concerned with far more than such a modest desire for a fair return. Like their counterparts in industry, the largest farmers resented—and will continue to resist at all costs—the incursions of smaller competitors. National security holds less charm for certain of these powerful individuals than their own security as unchallenged masters of the agricultural industry.

Be that as it may, this country will be unable to obtain its requirements either in industry or in agriculture without enlisting the capacity of small factories and small farms. Particularly now, since our involvement in the war, it is nothing short of criminal to allow half of the farmers in this country to remain on a subsistence basis, producing barely enough for their family needs and contributing almost nothing to the nation's war effort. Certainly, no farmer desires not to produce, not to get the most out of his land and out of his livestock. But through no fault of his own he has been kept from doing his job.

THE DIFFICULTIES that stand in the way of helping farmers create the desired surpluses over and above present-day levels are not too formidable. In the first place, small farmers ask only for the assurance that if they expand, they will be guaranteed for the next three years or so prices on produce that will enable them to meet their expenses. This is a simple matter of financing. In addition, many small farmers need loans to get started—loans for fertilizer and seed. They require marketing facilities, the ability to get their produce sold. The administration can readily solve such matters once it decides to drive ahead toward the main goal of adequate production. In fact, the Farm Credit Administration has on hand at present $35,000,000 which could be used to finance purchases of seed and fertilizer and to extend credit to farmers.

Other problems arise. The United States is unrivaled in the amount of mechanical farm equipment at its disposal. This country has 1,600,000 tractors. At present these machines are utilized at only thirty percent of capacity. Small farmers rarely can get hold of tractors. Now, with the resolution to let nothing stand in the way of victory, the solution is simple; put tractors to work by facilitating the rental by small producers of available farm machinery at reasonable prices. Help cooperatives buy tractors. Lend money to small farmers who have pooled together for the purpose of purchasing or borrowing farm equipment.

Of course, the farmers' need for machines cannot be allowed to impede the race for armaments. But a minimum of equipment will vastly improve our efficiency on the vital agricultural front. The government can readily see to it that equipment is made available for those who can use it effectively, without in any way slowing up arms production or wasting precious materials. Certainly no one can condone the fact that seventy percent of existing machinery is wasted, of no use to anyone.

TOO MANY ALARMISTS have been spreading the story that there is at present a serious shortage of farm labor. This just isn't so. Farm laborers for the most part have no unions, their wages are low beyond belief, their living facilities miserable. Up to now, the farm labor supply has shown huge backlogs of unemployed and under-employed. In the coming year the draft and increased industrial opportunities will undoubtedly reduce the surplus, but the supply of labor will remain ample. The problem is not one of shortages but of ridding the industry of indescribable confusion.

A strong system of employment service could eliminate most of the trouble. It is also true that farm laborers just don't seem anxious to flock to areas where they have no place for themselves or their families to eat and sleep except a nearby irrigation ditch. In contrast, decent living facilities will never go begging. This of course implies consideration for Negro as well as white farm workers, for Mexicans, Filipinos, and Chinese. Interestingly, despite horrendous predictions, no shortages of farm labor existed this year wherever wage scales were anywhere within reason. Is there any law to prevent the government from aiding farm labor to travel from one crop area to another as the seasons change? Farm labor shortages disappear, so the Farm Security Administration has proved, once employment services are instituted, once wages are made compatible with the desire for security, and some sort of decent living conditions are provided for the employees.

The effectiveness of our war effort will be proportionate to the nation's ability to cut through red tape and backwardness. One thing is highly encouraging. The Farmers Union in convention recognized the mutual interests of workers and small farmers, and asked the CIO to collaborate in a joint program beneficial to both organizations. For almost the first time in American experience, a large and important farm body formally and publicly expressed its sympathy with organized labor and offered to make common cause with labor. BRUCE MINTON.

C. ROWE *in the British "Our Time"*

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GEORGIA'S TALMADGE TROUBLE

The governor who would be senator. His Gestapo tactics in the Cocking case. Gene's pogrom against the "furrin" educators from Iowa and Mississippi. The right of Negroes to equal educational facilities.

IN A GEORGIA tourist camp, a group of hard-faced white men had backed a young Negro boy against the wall. This camp, they told him, was the headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan. He had better do what they wanted him to do—there would be nobody to help if he said "no."

"Look in your boss's desk," they demanded. "Find letters from Negro teachers. Bring them to us." The lad was a house-boy and chauffeur employed by Dr. Walter D. Cocking, dean of education at the University of Georgia. The men who threatened him were members of Georgia's unofficial Gestapo. Gov. Eugene Talmadge, like any other fuehrer, needs such men to keep himself in power.

The lad was frightened, but he would not comply with their demand. Whereupon, the storm troopers brought out a gun, and with that, a substitute plan. They had one ready—Kluxers have reason to know that Negroes aren't terrified as easily as they make out. So they showed the boy a paper, along with the gun. They said, "Sign this," but they didn't let him read it. There was the gun, and this time he did as they said, because there wasn't anything else anybody could do.

IT WAS JUST ONE of the things that happened when Governor Talmadge recently went witch hunting in Georgia's higher education system. Dr. Cocking, the Negro lad's employer, was the first of ten victims slated for removal, on charges of favoring racial co-education. Talmadge needed some cooked-up evidence for the "trial" he was planning. One board of regents had already surprised the governor by giving the dean a clean bill of health. The governor had packed the board since that annoying setback, but he could never be too sure.

As things worked out, the particular "evidence" from the young chauffeur wasn't introduced—it was pretty shaky, and besides the defense had its affidavits, too. The whole episode was rather overlooked in the general excitement over the Talmadge case. But it's interesting and it also symbolizes something significant that has come out of the ugly mess.

Out for the US Senate and seeking a "race issue" for political capital, Talmadge has gotten hold of something he didn't bargain for. It's the whole question of the right of Negroes to equal educational facilities and all the other things. It's been jammed smack into Gene's wiry little fingers—and it's hot. When that obscure young Negro worker stood up to his captors in a Georgia tourist camp, he typified the stand his people can make, given half a chance.

The martyrdom of the ten Georgia educators received a lot of publicity last summer, back in those days before the outbreak of war. But though the war overshadows everything, the case is far from closed. Just what happened and what does it all add up to, for the ousted teachers, the Negro people, the youth of Georgia and the whole poll tax-ridden South? Is Gene Talmadge on the run and why did this particular piece of Negro-baiting backfire?

IT STARTED LIKE THIS: Talmadge called for the expulsion of Dr. Cocking, and Dr. Marvin S. Pittman, president of the Georgia State Teachers College, at Statesboro. The charge was the same in both cases—favoring joint educational facilities for the "races." The accused men (and this is definitely not to their credit) denied the charges; the evidence was worthless and the State Board of Regents voted to retain both of them. Whereupon Gene flew into a typical old red gallus rage, forced three resignations from the State Board of Regents and packed it overnight. Then he held the famous star chamber session of July 14. Dr. Cocking reminded the spectators that this used to be Bastille Day in France, an anniversary of freedom when France herself was free, and a day of perfect irony for Georgia.

James Peters, banker of Manchester, Ga., and one of the newly appointed regents, conducted proceedings. Jim Peters was to be Gene's candidate for successor as governor in the event Gene made the Senate race. When Jim didn't put on a good show for the folks, Gene would yell, "Hit the chair and holler!" Jim said the Negroes were about to invade the restaurants and eat with the white folks and Gene bellowed, "They ain't a-gonna do it!"

Nobody got around to much in the way of definite accusations. One woman teacher made some charges that Dr. Cocking was in favor of a "'practice school" for teachers; he was supposed to have advocated that at a faculty meeting. White and Negro teachers and pupils were to have been enrolled. Then there was the "scandalous" business of Dr. Pittman and the Negro students from Tuskegee Institute in Alabama—a bunch of them came over and ate sandwiches right on the sacred white campus of Georgia Teachers College! With white students of GSTC, at that. Dr. Pittman admitted it. Out of all the list of "crimes" charged against the teachers, this little episode of the sandwiches emerged as the one thing that apparently did happen.

There was also a matter of certain books, which Gene and Jim jumped on pretty hard, especially the one called *Brown America.* That one was at the Teachers College with a title that appeared to advocate intermarriage —said Gene and Jim. Besides, the Rosenwald Fund put it out and that "furrin" outfit was trying to undermine white supremacy in Georgia anyway. The Rosenwald Fund is, of course, a highly conservative institution which supports Negro education and welfare work in the South. Undoubtedly the accused appreciated its services.

At last the farce was played out and the packed board voted 10-5 to drop the two men, just as it had voted over and over all during that fantastic day. The "furriners" were defeated. Talmadge had counted heavily on the fact that Dr. Cocking was an alien from Iowa when he first started campaigning against him. Dr. Pittman also heard himself called a "furriner" during the course of proceedings. He must have experienced odd sensations, remembering his Mississippi origin and his Confederate veteran father. L. W. (Chip) Robert, member of the board and once an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, rose to his feet at the end of the day and read a typed resolution of thanks to Governor Talmadge for this great service to the state.

Now the curious thing about this horrifying affair is the fact that the United States Supreme Court was supposed to have settled the whole question of Negro rights in higher educational facilities back in December 1938. The court established the right of Lloyd Gaines, Negro, to enter the law school of the University of Missouri.

The court stipulated that Negroes must be permitted to enter institutions of higher education or that equal facilities be provided. Georgia definitely doesn't provide for Negro educational facilities equal to those of its state university. Nobody could very well have brought this up at the trial, but it's still a fact. Strictly speaking, Negroes are entitled to all of the things these men were accused of advocating. Whether the charges were true or false, that too is still a fact. Negro organizations and other progressive groups didn't miss pointing this out.

After a time Gene dropped the "furriner" business and included several native Georgians amongst the eight educators whose removal followed. He also dropped this fancy "trial" business. But suddenly something happened. People began dropping Talmadge and his university in a manner that he couldn't cover with bluster.

The General Education Board, Rockefeller-sponsored, announced that there would be no new grants for the university. About $25,000 worth were under consideration at the time.

Its reasons? Georgia is a "sovereign state"; the board does not dictate to such; there is a controversy here, and therefore Mr. Talmadge and the Georgia people must [illegible] the General Education Board fo[illegible]ne

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being. That was bad, but it was worse when the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary schools actually dropped the university. That meant loss of accredited standing and Gene started hearing from the college boys and girls in a big way. Then the national body followed suit; protests poured in from white and Negro organizations in all parts of the country; furious undergraduates were burning him in effigy and, for the first time, Gene realized that something had happened to his old, cherished Ku Klux South.

He was stuck with the "race" issue. He couldn't give it up even if he wanted to. And worst of all, this thing wasn't getting him to Washington.

So Gene had to try a cagey game and, therefore, he asked the board to "use its good offices" to right any possible wrongs. Board members proved to be pretty well jolted themselves. The country soon learned that seven of them had formed a quorum, met at night at the Atlanta airport, and voted to reinstate the ousted educators. The five dissenters had won over a sixth member and, as their seventh, plucked from the Washington plane none other than the celebrated Mr. Robert, wearing red pajamas. This was the man who had read the resolution of thanks to the governor at the July 14 trial.

Again Talmadge proved how anxious he had been to "right wrongs" by refusing to recognize this decision, declaring that nine constituted a quorum for the sixteen-member board. He further advertised his position by publicly defending Georgia Klansmen at a hearing. He had once whipped a Negro himself, said Gene, which was, to be sure, no surprise to most people.

IT'S INTERESTING to see how clear-eyed the young people of Georgia have been in defending themselves. They blame Talmadge, not the accrediting organizations which have dropped their university. Georgia has a highly centralized "university system" and all state-supported institutions are component parts. The students understand that all state colleges are threatened with loss of standing. At GSTC, at Georgia Tech in Atlanta, the Georgia State Women's College at Milledgeville, and at Atlanta Junior College, the students have held protest meetings and passed resolutions calling upon the state legislature to convene and strip the governor of his appointive power over the regents. University undergraduates have invaded the state capitol grounds with picket signs and uncompromising slogans. That was the day Talmadge found "important business" in South Georgia, and thus spared himself the sight on the state capitol grounds.

The boys may not have conducted their whole fight on a high political level, but it was effective. Their slogan, "Sinkwich for Governor!" hit the sports pages all over the country during the recent football season. The reference, of course, was to the university's most shining gridiron light—whom they proposed to replace Talmadge.

What does loss of accredited standing mean to the boys and girls of Georgia? They will receive no credits whatever for work taken and diplomas from unaccredited schools will surely be passed over when the job hunt starts after graduation. That's just the beginning. An undergraduate planning a career in some professional field would find his past work useless—he couldn't enter a higher center outside the state. As for teachers, even Georgia high schools couldn't employ graduates of their university and remain on their own accredited list! Civil service exams probably would be out for everybody. Any work taken after the ban went into effect would be turned down by both army air corps and naval reserve as credit toward a commission. The university will almost surely lose its CAA. If the other schools in the University System are dropped, their teachers will join those of the university proper in a state of complete insecurity. The Southern Association provides some protection against salary cuts—against Talmadge, in short. But the teachers stand with students in blaming not the association, but the governor.

These thousands of young people are being made to suffer, a whole people has been affronted because one smalltime Hitler wants to be a US senator. And why did Talmadge have some political success with race-baiting in the past? The reason is that Georgia has property qualifications and other restrictions on the franchise which make it the most limited in the South.

In Georgia the poll tax is just a starter, and the result is that the franchise is confined largely to the group which furnishes the Negro-baiters. But too many things have happened in the South in the last few years for all the old rules to hold good, in spite of a hand-picked list of voters. Not long ago all of the protest over a case like this would have stemmed from outside. Without a home base it wouldn't have gone far.

Today, things are different. There's the CIO. There's the progressive awakening in sections of the AFL. There were the struggles around issues like Scottsboro and the Angelo Herndon case, with the Communist Party coming to the fore. Southern liberals, even those who failed to point out that the Negro is really entitled to the things the educators were supposed to have advocated, nevertheless correctly read fascism into Talmadge's action.

It all adds up to this: that thousands who don't have a chance to make statements for the press have come closer to a fundamental understanding of Georgia's "Talmadge trouble," a more fundamental understanding of the things that are hurting the people of the South.

ELISE MOORER.

Not Theirs

He is a peasant,
One eye distorted squints;
And ill-fate has etched his face.
A tattered cap of tobacco brown,
Clutched tightly in one hand.

Dark days of havoc;
One tragic death-filled night.
Through the sodden field
Silent he comes home
To his village again.

Shattered is his house.
His breathless child
With its mother
He wraps them both
In blood-stained rags.

Buries them in the soil.
Lifts his head
From big, coarse hands.
On the enemy
Rains his curses.

Four carts, three acres of land.
All dreams?
All taken;
Wood, cattle, *kaoliang** fields—
All another's now.

* grain

"But we will come back,
This cannot be theirs."
He promises himself,
And also the dead.
His heart is wrung with pain.

"Now guns, once turned on us,
Deal with our enemies,"
Looking over the hill,
"I will return;
This cannot be theirs."

Early September, the fields bright yellow,
The bean and fragrance of ripening crops.
Then the carts heaped high
They drive creaking through
The scarlet *kaoliang*.

Sombre winter, frozen streams;
Wind driving the sledges fast.
Men loathe to leave their caves.
Then comes spring; ice in rushing streams,
Rapids, cascades—no rocks can stay their way.

To our fields we say not farewell;
We will return.
Our hearts are in the land.
The land yields *kaoliang;*
And the *kaoliang* is our life.

YUAN SUI-PO.
(Translated from the Chinese by Hsu Chih.)

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The Fronts This Week

THE sweeping counter-attack of the Red Army continues to drive the enemy back from Leningrad to Kharkov. The threat to Moscow has been definitely lifted with the capture of Kalinin and Orel; a path has been hewn for the liberation of Leningrad, and preparations are under way for regaining the heart of the Ukraine. Enormous stocks of arms and supplies are now falling into Soviet hands; wedges are being driven into the German lines, preventing a systematic retreat. It is hard to say whether the momentum of this drive will be maintained, or just where German resistance may grow stronger, but one thing is clear: the offensive power of the Red Army heartens the world even more than did the Red Army's bitter and terrible defense. It is as though a giant spring had been pushed back and is now rebounding with pent up force.

On the Libyan front Axis units are being routed to Benghazi itself, that is, almost out of Libya. Evidently the recent change in British command pepped things up, and with American supplies, the second phase of the campaign is moving toward a victorious finish. It has been a difficult battle in difficult terrain, and it sometimes seemed slow. But it is an important battle, because if the drive can now be pushed into Cyrenaica toward Tripoli, then the gates of the French empire come into view. And as this happens, important political objectives such as a showdown with Vichy will be the order of the day.

In the Pacific, however, things are difficult. The Japanese are still reaping the benefit of their central strategic position and the effects of their surprise stroke. The British bear the brunt of the attack, and despite a valiant defense of Hongkong, this fortress probably cannot be maintained, while the much more important Singapore comes into the area of direct menace. Strategic Penang Island on the west coast of Malaya has been seized; a two-pronged drive is making headway in Malaya; what Britain needs is aircraft and sea power, as well as the full release of native energies in India, Burma, and Malaya. Meanwhile, the Japanese have landed in Borneo, thus driving a sort of wedge into the Dutch East Indies; the Allied forces have replied by occupying Portuguese Timor, but the real defense of the South China Sea depends on what happens at Singapore and the Philippines. Here, American and Filipino troops are putting up a great fight in the face of Japanese pressure from several directions. Our submarines are reported out in full force and the newly elevated General MacArthur reports everything under control. But as a whole, things may get worse in the western Pacific before they get better. And better they will be when our air power, naval, and military forces are fully marshalled.

OVERSHADOWING the military developments was the sacking of von Brauchitsch as German commander-in-chief and Hitler's assumption of personal leadership of his armies. Coming after the appeal for warm clothing and the increasingly defensive note in German propaganda, this latest event gives striking evidence of the real difficulties the Nazis are having. It must also mean a sharpening struggle among the army and party factions in the Reich. In effect, Hitler has been compelled to take charge of the retreat because he could offer no other hope of stopping it. And it is quite possible that with further advance into Russia barred, a thrust into Turkey, into the western Mediterranean, or across the British Channel may be attempted. But it remains to be seen whether the inner tension in Germany will not snap, whether the retreat from Russia will be stopped before it becomes a rout.

Aftermath

AFTER Colonel Knox's frank report on the damage at Pearl Harbor, it was to be expected that the responsibility of our leading personnel at Hawaii would be placed under scrutiny. A few days later the President appointed a commission of admirals and generals, chairmanned by the Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts, to do just that. And almost immediately it became known that the commanders of the army, navy, and air force at Hawaii had been relieved, pending results of the commission's investigation. It is obvious that they could not continue at their posts while their work was under examination.

The fact that our Commander-in-Chief has acted with such decision and speed will bolster popular morale and discipline. It will serve as a rebuke to those congressmen who were itching to make political capital out of the nation's defeat at Pearl Harbor. A nation which does not hesitate to remove its highest naval and military officers when they may have done wrong is a strong nation whose strength is bound to grow.

There was also the case last week of Col. H. C. Kress Muhlenberg, formerly commandant of Hickam Field at Hawaii. He made a speech at Columbus, Ohio, strongly implying that the President's policy of lend-lease aid to allied countries was responsible for the lack of air power at Pearl Harbor. Muhlenberg also suggested that the Philippines were as good as lost and that the navy was a "bad, bad second to the air force." This bears all the earmarks of "America First" kind of talk; the colonel was immediately confined to his quarters, under virtual arrest.

Citizens may feel that our country has underestimated aviation; they may deplore our weakness in air power. But for an American officer to lay the blame on the President's policy of helping our allies, or to give up the Philippines in speeches while men are giving their lives to hold those islands is a serious matter. The removal of such people will only strengthen the nation for the trials that lie ahead.

Partners for Victory

AS WE go to press, the industry-labor conference called by President Roosevelt to work out a formula for assuring uninterrupted production and the elimination of strikes is still in session. But we hope that by the time this reaches the reader's eye, the nation will have received a Christmas present in the form of an agreement between the two groups. The CIO and AFL conferees are understood to have adopted a joint proposal under which the unions would agree to forego the right to strike during the emergency, with all questions, including the union or closed shop, to be submitted to mediation. The employer representatives, on the other hand, were insisting that an exception be made regarding the closed or union shop; they were demanding that this be barred from mediation and that instead the status quo be frozen. It was the employers' intransigent attitude on this question that constituted the chief stumbling block to a general agreement.

One of the positive results of the first days of the conference was the achievement of unity among the AFL and CIO delegates regarding labor policy. This should lay the basis for further joint efforts that will eliminate jurisdictional disputes and assure a solid labor front for victory in the war.

Beyond an agreement on strikes lies the problem of making labor a real partner in the war effort in order to achieve maximum production in the quickest possible time. In a speech during the past week Sidney Hillman, associate OPM director, declared the readiness of the government to set up joint labor-management production committees in every war industry. This is what labor has been urging for a long time; it is bound to yield results that will smash the Axis for all time.

To Fight the Bombs

A TREMENDOUS responsibility has fallen on the Office of Civilian Defense headed by Mayor LaGuardia and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Necessarily most of their work prior to the outbreak of hostilities had been of an educational and exploratory nature. The sudden Japanese attack precipitated the OCD into a host of activities for which it was not fully prepared and which require a reorientation of the entire work. Inevitably there have been mistakes and hasty improvisation. But while constructive criticism ought to be made, let us not be too ready to call for the chopping of heads. The concern about air raid protection on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts is natu-

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ral and undoubtedly much remains to be done. But this is only part of the task. Civilian defense must be viewed as a coordinate part of the war effort and must be so organized as to strengthen both the military front and the factory front. The big job, therefore, is to get the people into this work, to stimulate their initiative and enthusiasm, to weld them into a powerful, disciplined civilian army fighting the enemy twenty-four hours a day.

That's where the trade unions and other organizations of the people come in. In New York the Central Trades and Labor Council has presented plans for enlisting its unions in the civilian protection service. AFL councils throughout the state will meet in Albany January 6 to work out programs for all localities.

Another organization which has placed itself at the disposal of federal, state, and city governments for all forms of war activity is the Communist Party. In response to a pledge of full cooperation sent to Governor Lehman of New York by the Communist Party and Young Communist League, the governor wrote Israel Amter, state chairman: "I appreciate your generous offer of cooperation, of which I will not hesitate to avail myself if the opportunity offers." In Virginia Governor Price has likewise expressed appreciation for a pledge of support from the Communists and has promised careful consideration of their suggestions regarding air raid shelters. In Buffalo Mayor Thomas L. Holling has written the Communist Party of Erie County in similar vein. These are encouraging expressions of national unity in action.

P.S. One of the most important forms of civilian participation in the war is the purchase of US government defense bonds and stamps. It has been suggested that their name be changed to victory bonds and stamps. A good idea. But whatever the name, buy them.

Dies' Dirty Work

WHAT does it mean to Martin Dies that America is at war, that this nation and its allies are fighting to the finish against fascism, that every atom of energy and the utmost unity are an indispensable part of our national preservation? It means only this—that the representative from Texas will not be deterred from the disruptive activities by which he aided the Hitler forces in peacetime. On the contrary: Mr. Dies has authored an amendment to a House bill which classifies the Communist Party of America as "agents of a foreign power"—in the same category as the Nazi Bund!—and requires the registration of its members. Its purposes are obvious: to protect the real enemy, the fascists, by directing attention elsewhere; to foment hostility toward the labor and progressive movement which Dies has attempted to smear for the past several years; and to rip the fabric of national unity by engendering suspicion, confusion, and internal enmity.

The basis of the amendment is the completely false assumption that the Communist Party of America is anything but an American party, with an American program and American membership whole-heartedly dedicated to full collaboration with this country's government and its allies in the battle against the Axis aggressors. Mr. Dies got his sinister "rider" through the House with only seventy congressmen present, less than one-fourth the House membership. It must be stopped in the Senate. Quisling, or Hitler himself, could hardly wish for anything better at this juncture in history than the success of an "anti-Communist" Dies maneuver copied from Berlin.

Censor in Wartime

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has acted wisely in establishing a wartime censorship of the nation's press, radio, and communications. Obviously, it is as necessary to prevent the dissemination of any information which can be of use to the enemy as it is to secure information about the enemy through our Intelligence services. Restrictive measures in a people's war, far from curtailing genuine freedom of the press, serve to strengthen it. This is not to say that there are not pitfalls; censorship could conceivably be used to conceal or distort facts which would be of use to our own people rather than to the Axis. But with the active cooperation of the nation's press and people's organizations these dangers can be avoided.

It is in keeping with the spirit of this war that the spade is being called by its right name and that Byron Price, executive news editor of the Associated Press, who has been placed in charge of this work, will have the frank title Director of Censorship. NEW MASSES pledges him and our government full cooperation in the task of preventing any leaks which can help the country's enemies.

Remember Them

IN APPEALING for support of its seventeenth annual Christmas Drive for Labor and Political Prisoners, the International Labor Defense recalls the plight of families suffering from unjust prosecution in the past. Five of the Scottsboro boys are still in jail in Alabama; Christmas 1941 finds West Virginia miners sentenced in 1932 still behind penitentiary walls; there are sharecroppers on chain gangs after eight years; and there are "new" labor and political prisoners like the Pittsburgh petition victims, Festus Coleman in California, and others. NEW MASSES heartily endorses the ILD's annual drive that brings hope, holiday cheer, a helping hand into the lives of these splendid people and their kin. Gifts to replenish the ILD fund that functions all year round, year after year, should be sent to 112 East 19th Street, New York City. The cause is worthy; the need is great. Every bit will help.

To Right an Injustice

ATTORNEY GENERAL FRANCIS BIDDLE has received from Rep. Vito Marcantonio petitions signed by 200,000 persons requesting President Roosevelt to grant immediate executive clemency to Earl Browder. The petitions reflect the views of Americans in all walks of life. One hundred and thirty-six clergymen have petitioned the President; 1,000 leaders of AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhood unions; 142 fraternal organizations with more than 500,000 members; labor councils representing more than 1,000,000 members.

Many distinguished scientists, educators, writers, and artists have added their voices for the release of Browder. These include Prof. James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, president of the League of Nations Association; Dr. Abraham Flexner, emeritus director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton; Prof. Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard Observatory and recent recipient of the Pius XI award in astronomy; Dr. Ellsworth Huntington of Yale University, former president of the Association of American Geographers; Prof. Malcolm Sharp of the Chicago University School of Law; Helen Lowe-Porter, translator of Thomas Mann's works; Prof. Roland H. Bainton of the Yale University Divinity School; George Biddle, Walter Pach, and Max Weber, artists; B. W. Huebsch, editor of Viking Press; and many others.

It is becoming increasingly apparent to wide sections of the population that a great and tested anti-fascist leader like Earl Browder is needed for the national war effort. No anti-fascist can be spared, and least of all a man who has for years taught the meaning and danger of Nazi and Japanese aggression. Moreover, as the months go by, it becomes clear that the sentence imposed upon Browder was entirely out of proportion with the charge on which he was tried.

The administration in Washington has been urged to act at once to right an injustice and to strengthen the forces of victory by releasing Earl Browder. The American people must continue to tell the administration how enthusiastically such action would be received.

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ALIAS OLIVER ALLSTON

Dorothy Brewster peeks into the world of Van Wyck Brooks. The pilgrimage of a distinguished historian of our New England literary heritage. His place in American culture.

OPINIONS OF OLIVER ALLSTON, *by Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc.*

IT IS no secret that "my friend, Oliver Allston, who died last year in his early fifties" is Van Wyck Brooks. The disguise was adopted when some of the papers collected in this volume first appeared in the *New Republic* and the *Yale Review*. Mr. Brooks, for some reason or other, must have felt freer to talk about himself and his opinions in the third person, to hold himself off for examination, after the manner of Henry Adams. Some readers will find the effect produced one of disarming modesty; others will be put off by what seems like rather self-conscious pretense. To such readers—your reviewer is in this second group—the Allston device, however it was meant, tends to magnify Mr. Brooks, and minimize the things he says. And so, when in the later chapters I found myself agreeing more often than disagreeing with much of what he has to say, it was a case of the triumph of matter over manner.

Allston followed an old American custom in keeping journals, in which he wrote down the thoughts and impressions of the moment; and upon these—"dozen volumes bound in stout grey canvas"—all the chapters draw for material. When the journal was not available, Allston jotted his thoughts on scraps of paper. One chapter is just "Notes on Style"; another is "A Final Miscellany"; two chapters gather reflections on American scenes and people, under the headings of "American Traits" and "More American Traits." Explanatory passages forming a running commentary connect the extracts from the journals. There are two possible sources of interest in such a compilation: the personality behind the opinions, and the opinions themselves, as a body of social and critical doctrine. What may be called sometime in the future the "ordeal" or the "pilgrimage" of Van Wyck Brooks must wait till the record of his career in American letters is complete; and this review will confine itself to such glimpses as the book affords of "the world of Van Wyck Brooks."*

Many things have interested him: painting, human nature, the world of business (which he rejected from the start—"there was nothing I feared more as a young man than making money"), theories of political and social organization, and, of course, literature first and foremost, and the literary life. In comment and speculation on these themes, Allston insists on his dislike of theorizing, on the extreme concreteness of his mind, on his making no headway with abstract thinking. Yet the book is full of theorizing and of such abstractions as "the American psyche" and the "psyche of Europe." Discussion of expatriation and its effects upon writers contains speculations like this: aristocrats such as Turgenev never lose their racial traits—a lifetime of expatriation cannot "erase their inherited form"; and this is true also of men like Ibsen "who spring from an ancient rooted unmixed stock." But, if one has a concrete mind, one learns from the biographers and the encyclopedia that Ibsen had not one drop of pure Norse blood and that the Norwegian commercial patricians who formed his racial background were Danes, Dutchmen, Scotch, Germans, and Norse.

"Oliver Allston"

Psychology, says Allston (perhaps recalling Van Wyck Brooks' psychoanalyzing of Mark Twain), tends to destroy one's feeling for values, turning one's attention to the cause of things, whereas the significance of things is what really matters. And a writer should disregard possible consequences, writing always in the belief that, so far as he writes the truth, the effects will be good. But how can one appraise truly the significance—the meaning, the import—of anything, without taking into account both causes and consequences? Mr. Brooks himself, certainly the most distinguished living historian of our New England literary history and heritage, will have his significance estimated eventually by putting him in his temporal and psychological place and tracing his influence on the critical thought of his era. And, as a matter of fact, in his later chapters on the generally negative aspects of the literature of the twenties, he says that Allston sought light on the negative feelings themselves by studying their consequences. In short, when he gets going on the concrete facts, in his most interesting passages, the theories go overboard.

He talks much about free will, and notes that the Marxists did not respect him because he believed in free will. Yet he says that in the end we think as our constitution obliges us to think. He calls himself—or Oliver—a predestined writer, a critic by predestination, who had evolved from his own past and could have no other evolution. He hates all dogmatists; yet in discussing the practice of criticism, he declares that taste exists in the sense of a virtually absolute standard in minds properly qualified. Such a "properly qualified mind" is his own—though it had not always been so, his judgments having wavered in the past—but now "some impersonal standard, call it reality, call it truth, was literally operating in me," a principle of authority in matters of taste, "that is not mine, but that I merely represent and that is obviously inherent in the nature of things." And again, "my only concern was to give the best, and the best declared itself through me." Is this not the equivalent of a Papal Bull *De Gustibus?* To the reader of the *Opinions* it is disconcerting, when Allston talks of distaste for theorizing, to be confronted by abstractions and hypotheses; and when he talks of free will, to be confronted by predestination. Perhaps, though, he is really talking of free will as the appreciation of necessity?

Inconsistencies will, of course, appear in journals covering a period of years—seeds that never sprouted, speculations later disproved by the event. For that reason, in justice to himself, Mr. Brooks should have given more frequent indications of the times and circumstances under which he wrote things down. Dates do play some part in the earliest chapters, which are sketchily autobiographical. Later, when the dates attached to certain reflections would help us to trace the development of his ideas, they are missing except as implied in the title of a book or some well known event. The chapters on "Socialism," "Communism," and "A Business World," and on "Criticism—Theory and Practice," suffer especially from this time vagueness. It is hard enough to track the twistings and turnings of one's own views about contemporary

* To borrow Oliver Allston's footnote habit: the reviewer seems to be referring here to critical studies by Van Wyck Brooks:—*The Ordeal of Mark Twain, The Pilgrimage of Henry James,* and *The World of H. G. Wells.*

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movements in the swift pace of our world, and it can only be done with some clarity when the changing judgments are related to the changing events. You can assume, if you wish, that all your thoughts are above the battle, floating in a timeless serenity, and this works pretty well when you are just reflecting upon human nature, or upon a writer's irritations (which seem to have been pretty much the same down the ages), or upon a vast theme like expatriation, where you can dip here and there in history for examples to prove practically anything you like. (One recalls that Mr. Brooks proved to his own satisfaction that expatriation was ruinous to Henry James' later work, whereas Edmund Wilson proved to *his* satisfaction that not only was James' later work, some of it, of the finest vintage, but that the qualities that Brooks instanced as showing deterioration due to deracination, were really the natural accompaniments of old age.)

But when you come to contemporary politics, dates count. "Paris has lost its charm and Moscow is losing its charm, with our growing sense of what Washington has come to stand for." When did Allston feel that way, and just which of Washington's policies had he in mind? "I pity the writers of Russia almost as much as those who call themselves writers in fascist countries." Does he pity Sholokhov and Gladkov and the rest now? Allston saw Communism and fascism as "almost equally interchangeable" and was almost equally opposed to both, though he had once found much to admire in Communism. But "when these movements joined hands to fight against the ideal of freedom, he closed his ranks and fought them both." Is the reference to the "pact" of blessed memory? And was he fighting them both a short time ago, when he sponsored the meeting called by the Council for Soviet Relations to celebrate the anniversary of the recognition by the USA of the USSR? I am listing these opinions only to establish my point that, if duly dated, they might mark evolution. Contradictions and inconsistencies in opinion are everywhere as thick as the famous leaves in Vallombrosa these days. They should be faced, if, as Mr. Brooks says, "a writer's first duty is to fight for his own clarity." There is for Mr. Brooks, as for most of us, a great deal of fighting ahead. Dates and correspondences with events will help.

In the chapters on "Literature Today," "Primary Literature," and "Coterie Literature" (the most recently written, apparently), most of the journal entries are relegated to long footnotes—some of them very amusing, like that on Gertrude Stein and Ford Madox Ford; and the discussion proceeds, in consequence, in a more steady and consistent manner. The emphasis in these later chapters is on the negativism of T. S. Eliot, Joyce, Hemingway, O'Neill, Faulkner, Dos Passos, Ezra Pound. "Faulkner and Dos Passos seemed to delight in kicking their world to pieces, as if civilization were all a pretense and everything noble a humbug. For Robinson Jeffers, the human heart was vile and humanity was 'the mold to break away from.' Ezra Pound's odyssey touched at every known shore and found no men who had not been turned into swine; and the heroes of most of the others were gunmen or moral cripples, human jellyfish or hobbledehoys. . . . They had turned literature into a sort of wailing wall from which nothing rose but the sound of lamentations and curses. They made the present contemptible and the future impossible."

They contributed technical novelty and formal originality, but what of their contribution to life? Rather they represented the death drive, the will to die, said to exist side by side in our minds with the will to live. "Defeat and unhappiness can reach a point where we accept them and embrace them and rejoice in our enervation and disintegration." From these negative writers—who, even when they cared for justice, wrote "as men without hope"—Mr. Brooks turns to the affirmers of life, to the Frosts and Sandburgs, and Tolstoys, with their confidence in human nature, and their sense of the heroic in the human adventure. "The great themes are those by which the race has risen, courage, justice, mercy, honor, love." He quotes Gorky on the "planetary role" of literature—"the role of the power which most firmly and intimately unites the peoples by the sense of their sufferings and longings, by the sense of the community of their desire for the happiness of a life that is beautiful and free." Writers whose work fulfills this role are those who draw their strength from the consciousness of human needs and longings; and their ultimate value is to be determined by the measure in which they respond to these longings and needs.

Thus, Mr. Brooks goes all-out for primary literature, and in this connection, he defines and reaffirms the American tradition. A sense of our group history is of the first importance, if only as a means of entering other groups. It was his conviction of the importance of an American memory that drove him into historical writing. "The sense of the past behind them is the tap-root of American writers, the sense of the achievements of their group; and, behind this, they must have a sense of the life and achievements of all mankind, a sense of the collective effort of the human race. . . . Such was tradition, Allston repeated, the great sustainer of primary literature, the sum of the literary wisdom which the race has kept, the embodiment of those traits which humanity needs for its survival and perfection."

One's roots—around which Mr. Brooks digs so anxiously—are, after all, wherever one grows. He has grown here in our country. And the affirmations, as well as the sturdy rejections, just quoted, lead one to look confidently, not for the Indian Summer of Oliver Allston, but for a new flowering of Van Wyck Brooks. DOROTHY BREWSTER.

WHAT THE SOVIETS EXPECTED

Why the Red Army was ready. Harry F. Ward reviews Anna Louise Strong's latest book.

THE SOVIETS EXPECTED IT, *by Anna Louise Strong. Dial Press. $2.50. Workers' Library Publishers. 50c.*

ANNA LOUISE STRONG holds a distinguished and distinctive position in that small group of writers who can be called journalistic historians. To their writings the scholars of tomorrow will turn to get the flesh and blood to put around the dry bones of official documents in order that the past may live again. One or two others of this group have shown a like capacity to give an accurate and honest account of what they have seen. But no one of them has Miss Strong's uncanny capacity for getting inside the people of the lands she writes about and so enabling the reader to understand them. To this feeling for the people is added an understanding of the nature of the world crisis, partly intuitive and partly the result of her long sojurn in the Soviet Union, which makes her its true interpreter, when other writers who have lived there are either lost in a fog of their own making, or have become prejudiced and lying servants of reaction.

Anna Louise Strong

The title of Miss Strong's latest volume does not do it justice. The book is very much more than an explanation of the fact that the Soviets knew they were going to be attacked sooner or later, that their leaders got them ready for it at a terrific cost which the people paid because they understood its necessity, that opposition to the speed and cost of industrialization, as essential for defense as it was for social advance, by some Communist Party leaders, was one of the steps that finally led them to the position of traitors. In the foreword the author insists that, for our own sake as well as for the sake of all

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mankind, we must know not only that the Soviets expected this war and got ready for it, but "*that they see a way through—not* only to their own victory but to the great peace of the peoples, based on equality of all races and nations, on free access by the world's people to the world's resources, on democratic choice. For unless we understand the tremendous hope that rallies the Soviet people to this conflict, we shall not only fail our strongest ally, but may lose the battle for ourselves and for the world." This means that by understanding this hope we can come to share in it, to translate it into reality. In short, the message of this book is more than a call to the defense of democracy and the defeat of Hitler; it is a challenge to go forward to the democratic organization of the whole of life.

The plan of the book is evidently influenced by what Miss Strong has found out the American people need to know about the Soviet Union in her periodic lecture tours across this continent. First comes a graphic and revealing portrayal of the Russians as people, of what they are fighting for, and of their leader—Stalin. This is followed by an equally interesting and skillful popular history of the Soviet Union and its part in world affairs during the world-changing last ten years. Here the reader will learn how the Soviets prepared industrially for the war, how they made and modernized a people's army, how they smashed their fifth column. There follows the tragic story of the failure of the fight for peace and collective security, and after that the only alternative strategy of the march into Poland and the building of the Buffer Belt is explained. The sovietizing of the Baltic peoples is depicted by Miss Strong's eyewitness account of that episode in Lithuania. Her account of how the pact with Hitler was used to block him will be an illuminating revelation to many who knew the propagandized and accepted version of the meaning of that instrument was a lie, but had not the facts with which to refute it.

The book ends with an account of the war of the whole people which is showing the Nazis a "total war" which they are unable to accomplish, understand, or defeat. Finally there is a picture of the way the world is lining up which is very hopeful in terms of the peoples who make the world and in the end will rule it, since democracy cannot be destroyed. But to that it is necessary to add, as the Soviet authorities frequently do to their announcement of military successes, a reminder of the struggle that lies ahead. The Bullitt appointment is a sinister warning of what the democratic peoples have to do to, and with, the anti-democratic forces that are still represented in their governments.

It is a heartening thing that a popular priced edition of Miss Strong's book is made available alongside another 1,000,000 edition of the Dean of Canterbury's *The Soviet Power*. Those who read these two books will have an arsenal of weapons with which to destroy the lies of our fifth columnists; they

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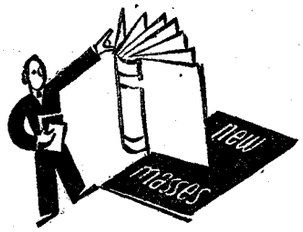

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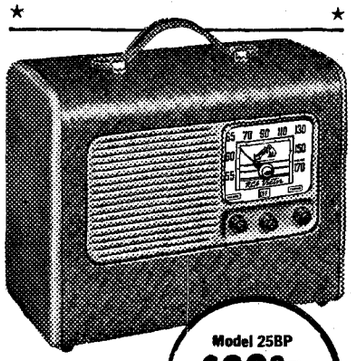

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HARRY F. WARD.

A Psychiatric Study

A SHORT HISTORY OF PSYCHIATRIC ACHIEVEMENT WITH A FORECAST FOR THE FUTURE, *by Nolan D. C. Lewis. Norton. $3.*

THIS book, a compilation of lectures delivered at the New York Academy of Medicine, gives us a somewhat brief and sketchy history of psychiatry. Dr. Lewis traces observations concerning the human mind and its aberrations from the earliest recorded history of man up to the present.

In early times there were only isolated individual observations regarding mental disease and attempts to explain their origin, mainly by some mystical approach. There can thus be no study of the history of psychiatry as a scientific endeavor for these periods. However, since the beginning of the nineteenth century the study of the mind has been much more thorough and on a far broader, more scientific basis. Unfortunately Dr. Lewis continues his history in terms of individuals, rather than in terms of basic concepts and their relation to the social forces of the period. Thus we find, in place of a broad picture of a developing science, rather long lists of contributors to the fields of neurology and psychiatry, with brief summaries of their particular contributions. There is little correlation. While the author includes a brief, sympathetic outline of the various outstanding representatives of Soviet psychiatry, he shows no understanding of the role of socialist society in the development of psychiatry as a science.

In his "Forecast for the Future" Dr. Lewis discusses the pressing need for closer integration between psychiatry and the other fields of medicine. He stresses the great need for research in mental disease, emphasizing basic research in the fundamental fields of chemistry, physiology, and pharmacology as related to the study of the nervous system. He advocates the formation of institutes with long range programs of coordinated research, as well as the need for economic security among research workers. In general the author takes a progressive stand in regard to the field of psychiatry as a whole and the broader field of medicine. However, there still needs to be written a history of psychiatry from the materialistic point of view, with a real understanding of basic social forces and the sociological implications behind developments in the psychiatric field.

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B BECOMES A

"Among the Living." What started out to be just another thriller turns into one of the best technical film achievements of the season. Direction and camera technique.

THERE is nothing like a low budget to foster brilliant experimentation in the movies. *Among the Living,* which arrived unheralded as just another thriller, has perhaps more real command of film technique than any American film of this season. I do not mean that it is a great picture, or even a uniformly excellent one; its conclusion is melodramatically pat, its acting somewhat uneven, its logic frequently sketchy. The harmonic coherence of, for instance, a John Ford film is lacking here, perhaps inevitably, for a B picture must be made in a devil of a hurry. Nevertheless, *Among the Living* approaches a sensational situation with human understanding; it portrays character not in romantic stereotypes but in sharply individualized and consistent portraits; and, more than this, in at least two sequences it displays sheer genius in interpreting human life in camera terms.

Among the Living is the story of a homicidal maniac. Shocked into insanity as a child by his brutal father's attack on his mother, he has been imprisoned in a hidden room for years, the family doctor having faked a death certificate. After the father's death, his escape leads to a string of murders, and, almost, to the lynching of his sane twin brother, mistaken for him. The convenient death of the maniac on his mother's grave solves the situation.

This, on the face of it, is rather shoddy stuff, and some of its details are handled in the familiar theatrical manner. The confusion of identities, the wild fist fights, the "spooky" atmosphere of the hidden-room sequences all cheapen the film. But, in its study of the maniac, *Among the Living* has been influenced by *M,* the classic film of lunacy, and presents a sympathetic, gentle, and very moving portrait. Shut off completely from the world, the maniac has remained a bewildered small boy of ten. The contrast of his childishness with a big body and immense strength suggests *Of Mice and Men,* and there is some parallelism in his adventures. Nevertheless, *Among the Living* achieves something quite original in the account of Paul Raden's wanderings in the adult world which forms the body of the picture. He is innocent, generous, confiding; he falls among noise and brutality and greed, and his bewilderment is at once pitiable and terrible. There is a magnificent irony here; not only does Paul seem mad to the adult world, but the adult world seems mad to Paul.

He wanders into a rooming house, and is pounced upon by the landlady's daughter, a little gold-digger for whom he conceives the touching passion of a small boy. He wanders into a honky-tonk, looking for his dinner. He cannot understand the blowsy blonde who attaches herself to him, or the amorous snarls of the people around, or the grotesque jitterbug dancing and its grotesque music. He is frightened, and a little sick. A woman's scream, the stimulus which wakens his violent fits, rouses him. And here the film really becomes great. With the eyes and ears of Paul Raden, it records the hysterical dancers, the loud voices of drunks, the savage nastiness of the dance music. The tempo increases; the bray of the music becomes subtly more vicious. The horror and madness are not in Paul, but around him. When they take complete possession of him, he staggers out, and, in a second brilliant sequence, runs down and strangles the blonde girl who had screamed. This chase, photographed with a subtle and terrifying distortion of reality, ends far from the camera. There is a factory corridor that seems a mile long; at the far end of it, in the moonlight, two struggling figures and a scream.

Such direction and photography as this are a glimpse of the vast, unexplored possibilities of the screen. *Among the Living* will probably be much imitated; it should be. Many of its minor touches are illuminating; the hinted character of the elder Raden, established by fleeting looks and words from the people at his funeral; the landlady's daughter, shameless, on the make, conscienceless, yet somehow sympathetic; the nasty roaring of a lynch mob. It only remains to give proper credit to actors, writers, and director. Albert Dekker occasionally fails to be convincing as the sane Raden twin; as Paul, however, he is almost always splendid. Susan Hayward acts the landlady's daughter with a complete abandon and naturalness which promise well for her future. The presence of Frances Farmer in the almost voiceless role of the sane Raden's wife, however, is inexcusable; talent like hers is too rare to waste. Lester Cole and others have contributed imaginative writing, but the work of the director, Stuart Heisler, is the important thing about *Among the Living.* Here is a man who knows his job.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to review musical films as if each were a separate and distinct contribution to the art of the cinema. Musicals have long since been reduced to a few simple formulas; they have only to follow the fixed pattern. This is not as unfortunate as in the case of dramatic films, where plot and a certain intelligence are to be desired; if you like musical films, you will probably go on liking the same row of legs kicking in the same direction for years. Yet, even here, you will eventually grow tired of laughing at the same routines.

The revue is usually the brightest, since it gives you a little of everything and is often funny. The songs are usually fairly good, since producers like to play safe and repeat numbers which have already had a Broadway success. Another type of musical, the "highbrow" or grand opera type, was very popular a few years back, but is now almost extinct. Such films as *The Wizard of Oz* and the Disney pictures resist classification sufficiently to be judged on their own merits.

This is not true of *Birth of the Blues* or *Blues in the Night,* two films by rival studios which have appeared with such simultaneousness as to indicate a little reciprocal throat-cutting back home in the West. *Birth of the Blues,* however, has a lushness and slipperiness about its orchestration that seem indescribably offensive, and the same goes for its plot, acting, or what have you. It attempts to combine the old-South-costume with the revue, and adds a love story for chocolate icing; and that is all you need to know about it. It has clung fondly to tried-and-true old songs, and, I am told by those who know, sung each of them wrong. *Blues in the Night,* far less pretentious in style, shines by comparison in music and acting, as well as in story. There is some rather good singing and a startling performance by Elia Kazan. I stuck it for three-quarters of an hour, whereas I walked out of *Birth of the Blues* after twenty minutes. JOY DAVIDMAN.

Halfway Mark

Alvah Bessie finds last season's holdovers among Broadway's best.

IT'S a pretty ungrateful task, this time, to take a look at the developing theater season at the halfway mark, for it seems to represent a case of arrested development. The best serious dramas on the boards—those plays which do represent a serious approach to the art of the theater—are (all two of them)—holdovers from last season.

I'm referring, of course, to Lillian Hellman's *Watch on the Rhine* and Emlyn Williams' play, *The Corn Is Green.* Both, whatever their deficiencies, breathe of the spirit of democracy. Both are products of real imagination at work in the medium, [illegible] p-

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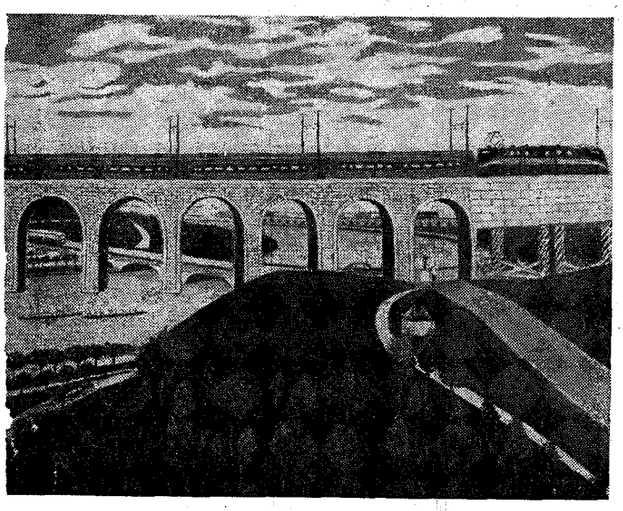

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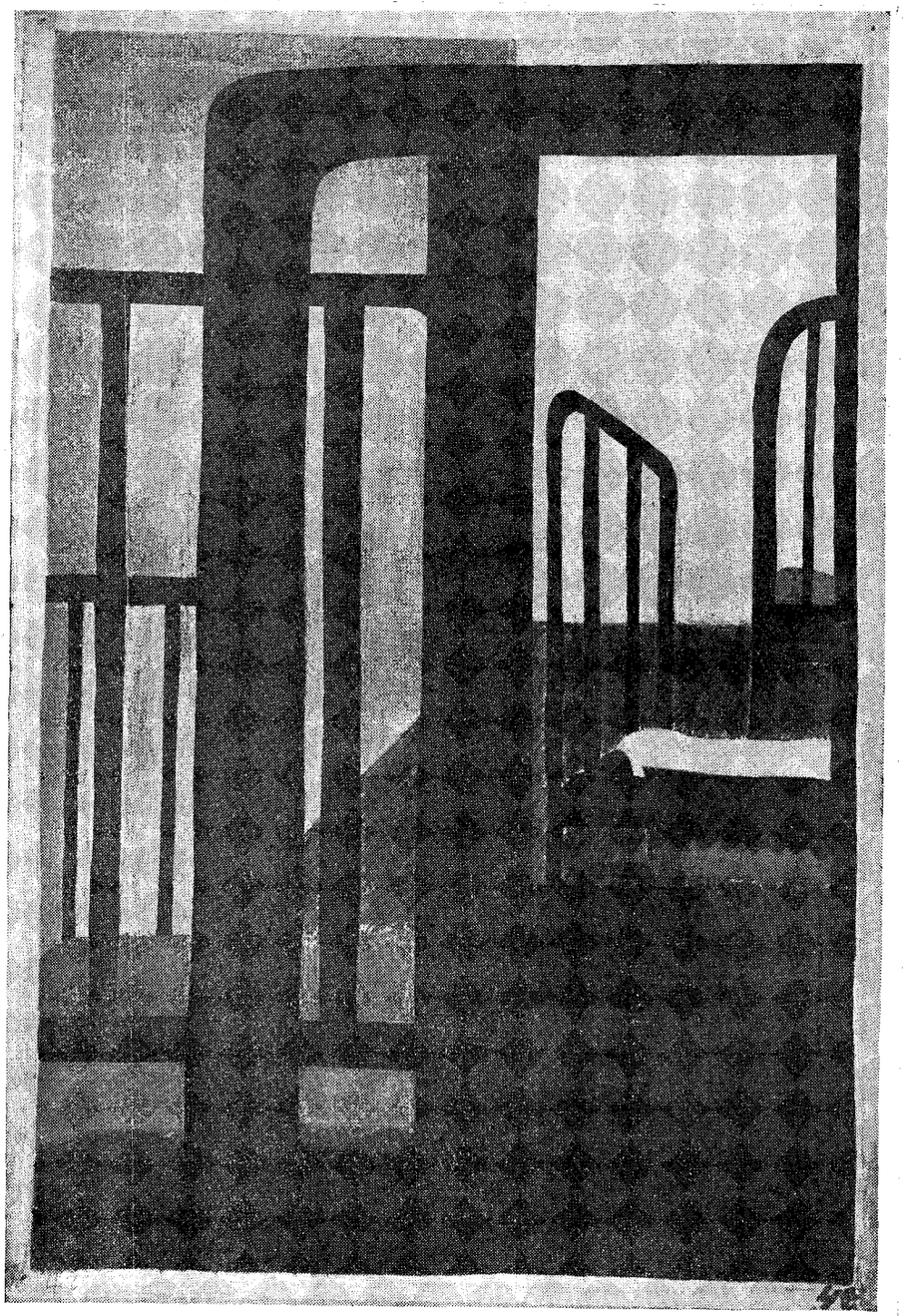

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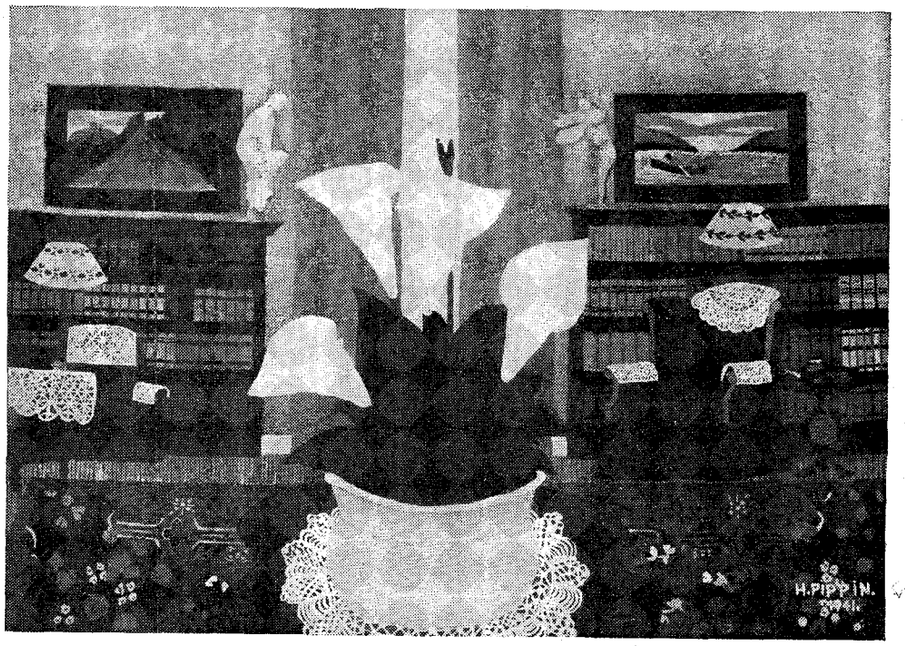

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siderable understanding of the issues at stake.

Miss Hellman's play is about the only anti-Nazi drama that has managed to continue (the survival of Maxwell Anderson's *Candle in the Wind* representing a complete mystery to many people). There have been many other anti-Nazi plays this season, but most of them died a premature and deserved death.

Of new serious drama, there is none. Next week we will get a chance to see John Bright's and Asa Bordage's *Brooklyn, USA*. From all indications it will be a serious attempt to get at the roots of Murder, Inc. The week following it will be possible to report on Clifford Odets' first play since *Night Music*. So keep your fingers crossed.

But unless you consider *Macbeth* serious drama (and I do, in spite of Maurice Evans), there is nothing playing on the Main Stem that really warrants the hard-earned cash of people who go to the theater to have their understanding of life extended and illuminated. Here we must make an exception of Sophie Treadwell's seriously muffed *Hope for a Harvest*. Miss Treadwell did try, after her fashion, to cast some light on the problem of American agricultural refugees. Not the Okies (whom she grossly maligned in the spirit of "good clean fun"), but those refugees who are still locked on their exhausted soil in the West. There is intelligence in this play, some excellent characterization, but a muddle-headed exposition of the problem and a hopelessly confused solution.

But aside from the purely escapist stuff that opens and closes with the regularity of a subway turnstile, there is nothing that will really stick to your ribs. It is hardly true that during times of war people turn more readily to light and insubstantial stuff. And I would bet a pair of second-night tickets that if someone came along with a really profound play about the war—a play that delved deep into human character and the people's aspirations, even folks who are jittery about impending air-raids would stand in line in the streets to force their money on the producer.

There was a falling off in the box office during the first two weeks after the declarations of war. But at latest reports business is picking up again. People are crowding in to see Frederick Hazlitt Brennan's play, *The Wookey*—possibly out of some odd fascination that the air raid effects of that piece exercise upon the mind. Mr. Brennan has written a theater piece that, although mechanical and rubber-stamped, has nevertheless managed to demonstrate the courage of the common people of London, and the world.

For laughs, you are recommended to last season's *Arsenic and Old Lace*—the archetype of many wacky horror plays that have followed far behind its fleet heels. Of these, *Angel Street* is by far the best among this season's crop; it is the work of a man who knows something about people, even though he has chosen to place his very real talents for characterization and dramaturgy at the disposition of the lower nerve centers. Or, if

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you are not unusually allergic to Noel Coward, his *Blithe Spirit* will perk you up at intervals, with its ingenious handling of life-and-death impossibilities. *Junior Miss,* derived from Sally Benson's stories by Chodorov and Fields, is charming and quite funny.

But we can forget—as they are already forgotten—the almost countless flops that cost their anonymous angels good money that might more sensibly have purchased defense bonds. Can you remember anything but Alexander Greendale's well-intentioned, talented, but hopelessly derivative *Walk Into My Parlor?* Can you recall something called *All Men Are Alike?*, or *The More the Merrier* (that wasted Bobby Clark)?, or a thing called *Distant City?* or *Ring Around Elizabeth?*

I can't. So let us wait, ever hopefully (the opposite face of the drama critics' coin) for *Brooklyn, USA.* For Odets' *Clash by Night,* and for Hy Kraft's *Crown Cafe,* which will find Morris Carnovsky in its leading role, he having escaped for the time being from the Greenwich Village seller of *My Sister Eileen.*

ALVAH BESSIE.

"Pens and Pencils"

The new edition of the ASU revue has verve and snap.

I WENT to see *Chute on Sight,* the new American Student Union revue, with a pleasure not untinged by a feeling of patronage. The cast's average age is sixteen and most adults will understand the feeling. However, I will never make that mistake again. For the 1941 edition of *Pens and Pencils* is as professional and as engaging a show as can be found in any theater, commercial or otherwise. It has spirit and verve and a beautiful pace, but best of all, it has an ingenious device that ties all the scenes together, and imparts a flavor of political satire that one used to find in the pages of *Simplicisimus,* the famous German anti-Nazi workers' magazine.

The revue begins in the customary manner with a full company ensemble, but is quickly interrupted by shrill cries in the audience. A Nazi parachutist, bailing out of his plane, lands directly outside the theater. He is brought onstage, is introduced to the audience, and is very cleverly made the foil for all that follows. Ira Stadlin, who plays the Nazi, creates a blustering, loud, egomaniac in grand style, and the robust manner in which the people's enemies are exposed proves that it is possible to present sound political theater within the revue technique.

Through it all, these youngsters dance and sing and act with captivating charm. The material, with the possible exception of the devil scene which is an old vaudeville skit in questionable taste, is easily the best that has been heard in any progressive musical in some time. Especially good were "Man of Democracy," a song about Morris

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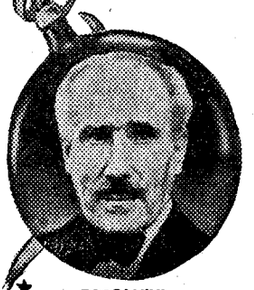
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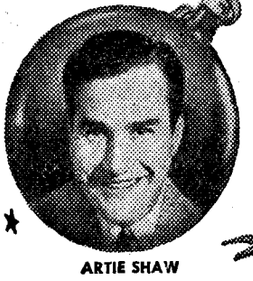
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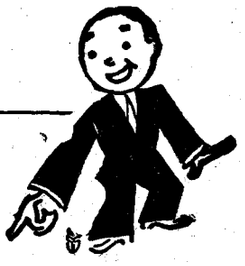

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Schappes, "To the Boys Who Died in Spain," "It Must Be Love," and the finale, "Wind from the West." The entire cast is worthy of mention. Arthur Torg is a comedian of rare merit. Others whose work is noteworthy are Mitchell Lindemann, Connie Spatz, Carl Glick, and Harry Sirota. Fred Katz, who wrote most of the music, is a find.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

PROGRESSIVE'S ALMANAC

"PROGRESSIVE'S Almanac" is a calendar of meetings, dances, luncheons, and cultural activities within the progressive movement. This list is published in connection with NEW MASSES' Clearing Bureau, created for the purpose of avoiding conflicting dates for various affairs. Fraternal organizations, trade unions, political bodies, etc., throughout the country are urged to notify NEW MASSES' Clearing Bureau of events which they have scheduled. Service of the Clearing Bureau is free. A fee of one dollar per listing will be charged for all affairs listed in this column.

DECEMBER

26—West Side IWO Forum Lecture, Alvah Bessie, "Fighting Fascism Yesterday and Today," 220 W. 80th St., 9 P.M.

31—(New Year's Eve) Howitzer Hop—Royal Windsor.

31—(New Year's Eve) California Lincoln Vets Rehabilitation Comm., Victory Ball—Belmont Studios, 122½ South Vermont, San Francisco.

JANUARY

3—Council for Negro Culture, Salute to Negro Troops. Golden Gate Ballroom (217 W. 125th St.).

4-31—Almanac Singers, Sunday afternoons, 130 W. 10th, 2 P.M.

5—N. Y. State Committee Communist Party—Lenin Memorial, Madison Square Garden.

5—Workers School, Winter Term opening Registration, 35 E. 12th.

11-25—Helen Tamiris, Three Sunday Eve. Recitals, Studio, 434 Lafayette St., N. Y. C.

11—Progressive Committee, A. L. P. Piano recital and concert, Ray Lev, Brooklyn Academy of Music.

17—Popular Theater—Square Dance and Party, Greco Fencing Academy, 940-8 Broadway.

31—I. W. O. Trade branches, Star Concert, Town Hall.

31—Fur Workers—Annual Mid-winter Ball—Royal Palms Hotel, Los Angeles.

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